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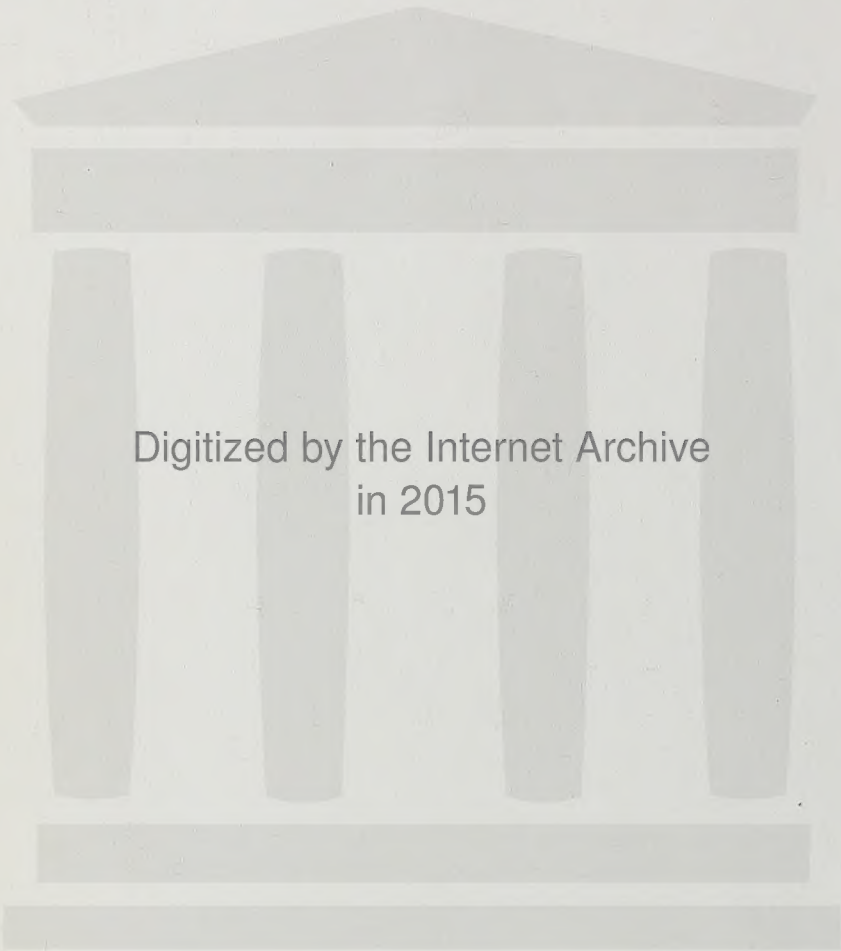
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The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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Spring, 1965

OLD CREEK COUNCIL HOUSE AT OKMULGEE

Volume XLIII Number 1

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Volume XLIII — Number 1

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Cover: This shows the Old Creek Council House erected in 1878, that stands on its original site in the square of the City of Okmulgee, Oklahoma. Okmulgee was the capital of the Creek Nation from 1867 to Oklahoma statehood, 1907. The Council House now includes a Creek Indian Museum open to the visiting public. The photograph of this historic building was supplied through Mrs. Hettie Miller, Secretary of the Okmulgee Chamber of Commerce.

PREHISTORY IN OKLAHOMA

By A. M. Gibson

Today, nearly 3,000,000 persons reside in Oklahoma. As one of the youngest states admitted to the Union in 1907, most of Oklahoma's population is of recent arrival. But in terms of actual human occupation, Oklahoma is one of the oldest areas in the United States. Traces of human life, possibly ten to fifteen thousand years old, have been found here.[1]

The time level for separating the historic from the prehistoric in North America is the Sixteenth Century. The historian can go back just so far since he relies on recorded history. The archaeologist studies human sign, reconstructs early occupation, and places time sequences, and through his research and interpretation, explains the prehistoric period. His findings show that some of the earliest signs of human life found in North America were present in Oklahoma.

As in modern times, prehistoric Oklahoma was strategically situated in the great concourse of human groups. The savannah grasslands, swamps, and water holes of central and western Oklahoma attracted the mammoth, giant primordial bison, and other creatures now extinct. Some of the finest specimens reconstructed in museums today have been excavated from gravel pits in the state. Oklahoma's terrain allowed easy access for wandering bands of hunters who probably were members of America's first human family. The plains and prairies on the state's west side made for easy entry from the southwest and north, and the broad river valleys of northeastern Oklahoma permitted penetration from that direction.

The moderate climate of this region encouraged occupation by primitive human groups. Natural shelter was available in many parts of the state due to an erratic geology which produced an abundance of projecting rock ledges and caves. Durable weapons, fashioned from hard stone, generally flint, were important to the prehistoric hunters. Several exposed deposits of this material in Oklahoma, notably the flint quarries of northeastern Oklahoma in present Ottawa County, were discovered and worked by early craftsmen.

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[1]Gratitude is expressed to Dr. Duane Roller and the University of Oklahoma Faculty Research Committee for assistance in producing this article.

Oklahoma's earliest humans were wandering families of big game hunters who sought out the mammoth and other prehistoric creatures. Two culture types have been identified from the distinctive projectile points used by these primitive hunters—Clovis man, the earliest, and Folsom man, his successor. Archaeologists have found both Clovis and Folsom points in Oklahoma. Near Stecker, Oklahoma, at the Domebo mammoth kill site, scientists recently excavated a mammoth skeleton containing three Clovis points. Archaeologists use the carbon test to date culture sites. It measures the amount of radioactive carbon and provides an indication of age with a leeway of about 200 years. Tests of Domebo mammoth kill site material provided an age of from 10,243 to 11,061 years old.

After the period of hunters of extinct fauna, very likely there was a span of several thousand years during which primitive Oklahomans hunted those wild creatures which were still here when Oklahoma was first visited by Spanish explorers in early historic times. This was the second period of Oklahoma pre-history or archaeology. We find signs of human existence in Oklahoma during this epoch in three broad locations: the caves and ledges of the Ozarks of northeastern Oklahoma; caves of the Oklahoma Panhandle; and generally along the creek and river beds of the state.

Although these early Oklahomans were wandering hunters, they traveled on a sort of circuit in their search for subsistence, and habitually camped each season on creek and river bank sites, generally near springs of fresh water or in the more protective caves and under rock ledges, the latter types of habitation undoubtedly used during the winter period. Successive use of these accustomed camp sites through the centuries caused an accumulation of debris to build up in the form of layers. From time to time wind driven soil or in some cases flood waters distributed a protective mantle of earth over these ancient human sites and separated one type of culture from another. In Oklahoma caves archaeologists have found debris accumulations nearly ten feet deep. Similar deposits have been excavated along the streams; one of the most revealing riparian sites is located on Fourche Maline Creek near its junction with the Poteau River.

A painstaking examination of these culture sites reveals a time sequence, and in the cultural advance of Oklahoma's early peoples, certain landmarks stand out. The bow and arrow, agriculture (especially corn culture), pottery, and elaborate mortuary, absent in the lower layers of human sign, begin to show up toward the top of these prehistoric habitation sites and signal substantial human advancement.

Working from bottom to top on the sites, a profile can be traced which reveals the evolution of early Oklahomans. The hunters of modern fauna used a spear and a spear thrower (atlatl) to bring down their quarry. They supplemented their diet by fishing and gathering nuts, berries, and other products of nature. In the cave ruins for this period, possibly five or six thousand years old, archaeologists have found charcoal, animal bones, flints, wild seeds, and nuts. Flint objects include points, drills, scrapers, knives, and chopping tools.

The intermediate layers in these caves show the slow but steady advance of Oklahoma's prehistoric people. While pottery vessels, so important before the advent of metalware for carrying and storing food, water, and other human essentials, were absent, this cultural horizon indicates remarkable improvisation. Bark containers and fabric bags, lined with pitch for water-proofing and preservation, were in wide use. Food surplus and storage have always been factors in man's advance. These pre-pottery people used cache pits, lined with leaves, grass, bark, and stone slabs for storing sunflower seeds and other foods either gathered from nature or produced by an early pre-maize (corn) agriculture. The hunter in this period used the atlatl or spear thrower and cane shafted darts. He tipped his projectiles with flint heads and used stone knives, scrapers, and hammer stones.

Arrows are found in the top layers of Ozark cave habitations indicating the adoption of the bow. Fragments of pottery, notched net sinkers, bone fishhooks, animal bones, horns, and antlers adapted for use as crude agricultural implements, and corn, document the advance of these people.

The caves near Kenton in Oklahoma's Panhandle have yielded abundant material indicative of human occupation in that area during the intermediate period of Oklahoma's prehistory, possibly four thousand years ago. Searchers have found buffalo, deer, antelope, and rabbit bones, wild seeds, acorns, and round flattened cakes made of ground acorns, the batter mixed with wild plums and berries. This primordial pastry was similar to the modern doughnut; each cake had a center hole. This was used to string the delicacies for drying and storing. Whole kernels of corn and corncobs have turned up in the household litter of these caves indicating an advanced agriculture. The inventory of these early western Oklahoma homes includes stone scrapers, knives, chopping tools, and wooden drills for kindling fires. No pottery has been found, but these inventive Oklahomans contrived skin bags and elaborate basketry as a substitute. Their

unique skill produced a wide range of household containers and fixtures including, besides baskets for carrying and storing human essentials, colorful mats, rugs, and cradles.

While the Kenton cave dwellers lacked the bow and arrow, and thus used the spear thrower and darts, they contributed to Oklahoma's cultural advance. An important symptom of man's evolution from a crude, barbaric creature of nature, living much like the animals he stalked, to a sensitive, self-controlled citizen of an advanced community is aesthetic expression. Oklahoma fine arts got their start among these early Panhandle cave dwellers who decorated the walls of their households with red painted figures.

Toward the close of the intermediate period of Oklahoma's prehistory, the people moved out of the caves and ledge dwellings and made their homes in the valleys. From earliest times they had camped in small hunting bands along the creeks and rivers, returning each winter season to the relative warmth and protection of their cave and rock ledge dwellings. Sites like the Fourche Maline not only confirm the general movement to adopt year-round dwellings in the lowlands during the late intermediate period but also reveal evidence of human use from earliest times, the lower levels indicating that the area was a favorite camp ground, the debris including animal bones, burned rocks, flint chips, charcoal, and fragments of mussel shells. Successive flooding and alluvial cover had separated one age of human use from another. So many locations have been discovered in the Fourche Maline area that archaeologists have named this prehistoric camp site and later village location the Fourche Maline Complex.

But signs of primordial hunting camps and their successors, the prehistoric villages, is scattered along creeks and rivers all over the state indicating this general movement of Oklahoma's early dwellers from their caves and ledge homes for the river bank. To mention only a few of the sites located thus far, archaeologists have identified fifteen prehistoric communities on Red River which have yielded the spectrum of early man's cultural evolution in Oklahoma, ranging from crude stone implements, animal bones, and charcoal, to pottery, arrows, and corn. The Cedar Creek site in Caddo County has produced Folsom points and animal bones of an earlier age; then archaeological evidence associated with the intermediate level of primitive man in Oklahoma; and toward the top of the location charred beans and corncob fragments telling of agricultural advance and a sedentary way of life, including a community of dwellings constructed of grass and clay wattlework.

In Oklahoma's late prehistoric age, running from, say, the beginning of the Christian era to 1500 A. D., a number of significant developments occurred. One of these already noted in the late intermediate period—that of the change from cave and ledge shelters to lowland village dwellings—continued with certain refinements.

And as might be expected, it is from the dwelling sites of Oklahoma's late prehistoric period that most of the evidence on human activity is derived. This epoch could well be called the age of moundbuilders for the man-made eminences scattered here and there over the state are the most conspicuous survivors of this period. These mounds are fairly well concentrated in eastern Oklahoma, but a few have been observed in the northwestern portion of the state.

It is in the more numerous eastern Oklahoma mounds that researchers have found the most communicative link with the prehistoric past. The mounds in this section of the state were constructed for a variety of purposes. Some served as platforms for mud and wattle houses, the elevated location providing protection against floods. Many of the mounds, well over forty feet high, were erected as religious pyramids, some of them solid and probably serving as open air shrines. Others, built over cedar framed structures, were used as burial temples.

The famous Fourche Maline Complex is related to the moundbuilders epoch. In the thirty or more known sites of this popular prehistoric settlement area, archaeologists have found that during the village-building epoch, Oklahomans carried in soil and constructed mounds and levees to place their villages above the flood line. Early-day workers raised the Williams Mound (situated about two miles from the junction of Fourche Maline Creek with the Poteau River) five feet above the valley floor and banked the site out to a dimension of 150 feet. Beneath the Williams Mound and other eminences in the Fourche Maline group, researchers have uncovered layer on layer of cultural profiles, each separated by alluvial silt, and at the lowest levels primordial camp sites with fire-cracked stones, bones, mussel shells, flint chips and projectile points, and crude hammerstones; followed in regular sequence by advanced stone tools and weapons, signs of an incipient agriculture; thence to upper levels containing arrows, fishhooks, bone whistles, pottery, and corn.

Atop the Williams mound and other eminences in the complex, searchers have found evidence of frame shelters (mud and wattle covering), food cache pits, stone artifacts, and perforated animal teeth, indicating some attention to

personal adornment. The people produced crops of corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and sunflower seeds on the rich river bottom plots, indicating an advanced agriculture.

Significantly, the Fourche Maline mounds have yielded some of Oklahoma's earliest known human burials; a single mound was found to contain the remains of 122 humans and three dog skeletons. Like the evolution of weapons, tools, pottery, and certain other cultural landmarks, prehistoric mortuary often is a telling sign of human advance. Among other things, an emerging religious system, including a concept of the afterlife where the deceased would need certain items, can be traced through the type and quantity of grave goods. Also of interest is the fact that interment in the Fourche Maline Complex was beneath the mud and wattle house sites, a practice similar to that of ancient people in other parts of the world who buried their dead beneath the hearthstones so as to be near the spirits of their ancestors. In the earliest Oklahoma mound burials, no grave goods were found; then a few simple pieces appeared; the posthumous adornment gradually increased, reaching a climax in the splendor-laden Spiro graves.

The fabulous Spiro epoch, 900 to 1450 A.D., marks the Golden Age of Oklahoma prehistory. The Sooner State's archaeological chronicle, at best fragmentary and sometimes nearly mute, suddenly spoke loudly of its past through a discovery made in the Poteau River valley during the late 1930's at a human-made hill called Spiro Mound. This archaeological treasure-trove, its dimensions a tribute to the engineering skill of the Spiro people, was a ceremonial pyramid and burial temple constructed of rot-resistant cedar logs, covered by thousands of tons of hand-transported earth. While the Spiro people left no written record of their brilliant achievements, the epic of their amazing cultural progress can be reconstructed from the elaborate mortuary recovered from the Spiro Mound.

A partial inventory of goods taken from the burial chambers includes elaborate ceremonial maces; delicately decorated pottery vessels each finished in exquisite art form; cedar masks; human and animal effigies; human and animal heads sculptured from rock crystal; mother and child Madonna-like figures; clay and stone pipes; pearl and shell beads; baskets and woven utensils; textile pieces including vegetable fiber cloth with advanced weave design and containing elaborate geometric figures, blankets and mantles of buffalo hair, rabbit fur, and feathers; cane combs; embossed gorgets; exquisitely ground and polished stone implements and projectile points; conch shells struck with drawings

depicting Spiro history and ceremonials including the busk of green corn observance, winged and plumed rattlesnakes, masked dancers and snake dancers; and sheet copper, copper axes, and copper-covered ear spools.

The material remains of the Spiro people indicate an amazingly advanced culture consisting of populous communities with a sedentary, somewhat sophisticated mode of life. The Spiro economy was sufficiently advanced for village craftsmen to develop specialized talents. Their creative and aesthetic senses were keen and active as evidenced by the exquisite pottery, textiles, sculpture, and metal goods they produced. Their complex economic life included a wide range of trade and communication with other peoples; witness the non-local shells and copper. Curiously, while authorities classify this pre-Columbian period as Stone Age, it is significant that the Spiro people had begun the use of metal goods.

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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE CREEK NATION AND SOME OF ITS LEADERS

*By Bert Hodges**

Few families among the several American Indian tribes in this republic have played a greater part in its governmental, social and religious life than have those of the McIntosh family whose members were leaders of the Creek division, that descended from a Scottish ancestor born over 150 years ago.

In this attempt to write a short history of this portion of America's original inhabitants, may we pause to offer sincere thanks to all Indian tribes and especially to the thousands of citizens of Indian descent living in Oklahoma for the wonderful manner in which they have co-operated to be the very best citizens, forgetting the many wrongs thrust upon their people in this country in the past.

It has been our privilege to have been intimately acquainted with the mutual friends of noted members of the Cherokees of our day: Senator Robert L. Owen who was our neighbor when we both lived on West Okmulgee Avenue in Muskogee; William Hastings of Tahlequah, long-time Congressman from the old Second District of Oklahoma; and the famous Will Rogers—actor, humorist, philosopher—of Oologah and Claremore. But since we have lived among the members of the Creek Nation, within a stone's throw of their rugged National Council House located in the center of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, from the time when we were a very young men, it is natural that we were better acquainted with them than those of any other Indian nation or tribe.

The Creek people referred to their nation as the "Muscogee Nation" in their native language though in general Oklahoma history, it is called the "Creek Nation," the English term applied to the settlements of this powerful Indian tribe that lived along the creeks and streams of Georgia when they were first met by the English traders, in early colonial times. When the Creek National House of native

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* Hon. Bert Hodges of Okmulgee, Oklahoma is well known in the state newspaper field as former owner of the *Okmulgee Daily Times,* as a columnist for nearly thirty years, and as an author (*Short Stories of the Bible,* 1962) He served in the State Legislature for several terms beginning in 1917. Mr. Hodges authored the bill securing women's suffrage in Oklahoma which vitalized the later national legislation that secured women's suffrage in the United States of America. Mr. Hodges' manuscript on "Notes on the History of the Creek Nation" has been adapted editorially for publication here in *The Chronicles*—Ed.

stone was erected at Okmulgee, Oklahoma in 1878, it was built on the same site as the first Creek capitol—a commodious building of hewed logs—constructed immediately after the adoption of a written constitution by the people in 1867. This first capitol building, the scene of noted events in the history of the development of Indian Territory and Oklahoma, was torn down, and the stone building erected which now houses the interesting Creek Indian Museum at Okmulgee.[1]

The new National Council House—or Creek Capitol—provided large, high ceilinged rooms for both the House of Kings and the House of Warriors organized, respectively, like the Senate and the House of Representatives in the American constitutional form of government. All functions of the Creek Nation's system of government including its Supreme Court and its "Light Horse" enforcement officers were held in this building. When Oklahoma and Indian territories were united and entered as one state—Oklahoma—in 1907, the old Creek government was closed, its lands having been allotted individually to its citizens. The office of the Principal Chief and certain executive officers were continued by an Act of the U. S. Congress, with nominal powers until such time as all Creek properties in lands and claims before the U. S. Government were settled. The "Principal Chief of the Creek Tribe," the appointment to this office directed by the President through the Secretary of the Interior and U. S. Indian Office, is still a position of importance as the leader in the business affairs and welfare of the Creek people, consulting together with members of a Creek business committee or council. To this day, the old court rooms of the National Council House at Okmulgee still ring with oratory as the "House of Warriors" continues to meet at regular intervals to discuss tribal affairs.[2]

There were statesmen trained in tribal law and court room oratory among the members of the House of Kings and the House of Warriors, no less than the English speaking peoples have practiced in all court rooms down through the epochs of time. It was in this rugged stone Capitol of the Creek Nation where disputes and litigation, including petitions to the President at Washington were adjudicated.

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[1]Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2nd printing 1957), p. 128;....., "The Great Seal of the Muscogee Nation" and "A Report to the General Council of the Indian Territory Meeting at Okmulgee in 1873," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, 1956; Ohland Morton, "The Government of the Creek Indians: Earliest Forms," *ibid.*, Vol. VIII (pp. 42-64) and "Government of the Creek Indians: The Snake Revolution, *ibid.*, (pp. 189-225), 1930.

[2]Wright, *op. cit.*

We knew many of the chiefs of the Creek Nation and the various officials who served their people when they met in this historic structure, after we came to Okmulgee in 1909. We want to report something of the McIntosh family, members whose service for a long period of time were the forerunners that made vital and valuable contributions to the country. The present Creek Chief is W. E. ("Dode") McIntosh who was appointed to this office in October, 1961, by Stuart Udall, Secretary of the Interior. "Dode" who is the son of the late Albert Gallatin McIntosh, best known by his nickname "Cheesie" McIntosh, has had much experience, both in Indian and Oklahoma State government, especially in the Creek Business Committee, or "House of Warriors," that continues in deliberating on Creek affairs. We call the "Chief" by his nickname "Dode" because we have known him so long. While he was growing up in Checotah, Dode's father, Cheesie McIntosh was advancing in the practice of law. He loved his people and especially the youth, which prompted Pleasant Porter, then Chief of the Creek Nation, to appoint Lawyer McIntosh to take over the superintendency of the Creek schools and hold them until Oklahoma statehood in 1907. His wife was a valuable aid and he was not forced to give up his law practice.[3] In fact, in the six years, Cheesie McIntosh had managed to expand until his law business had reached throughout Oklahoma and Indian territories as well as to the Federal courts in Washington and elsewhere in this country.

When employed as a young newspaperman in Muskogee, the writer was privileged to know both Chief Porter, whose home was in Muskogee, and Lawyer Cheesie McIntosh, who lived only a few miles away in Checotah. It was always a delight to meet and talk with either of these two great men. We believe that it was the late Ben F. Lafayette, (under whom we later served for six years as secretary to the Democratic State Central Committee and who later served as chairman of the State Board of Affairs) who introduced us to Cheesie McIntosh. Ben Lafayette came to the Indian Territory in 1887, and from 1890, made his home at Checotah where he operated a general store covering about a block in the center of the town.[4] He "carried" about everything in his store from grind stones, coffee grinders, butter churns, chaps, spurs and saddles to surreys, buggies, springfield wagons, wind mills and farm machinery. Lafayette, like Chief Porter and Cheesie McIntosh was the most friend-

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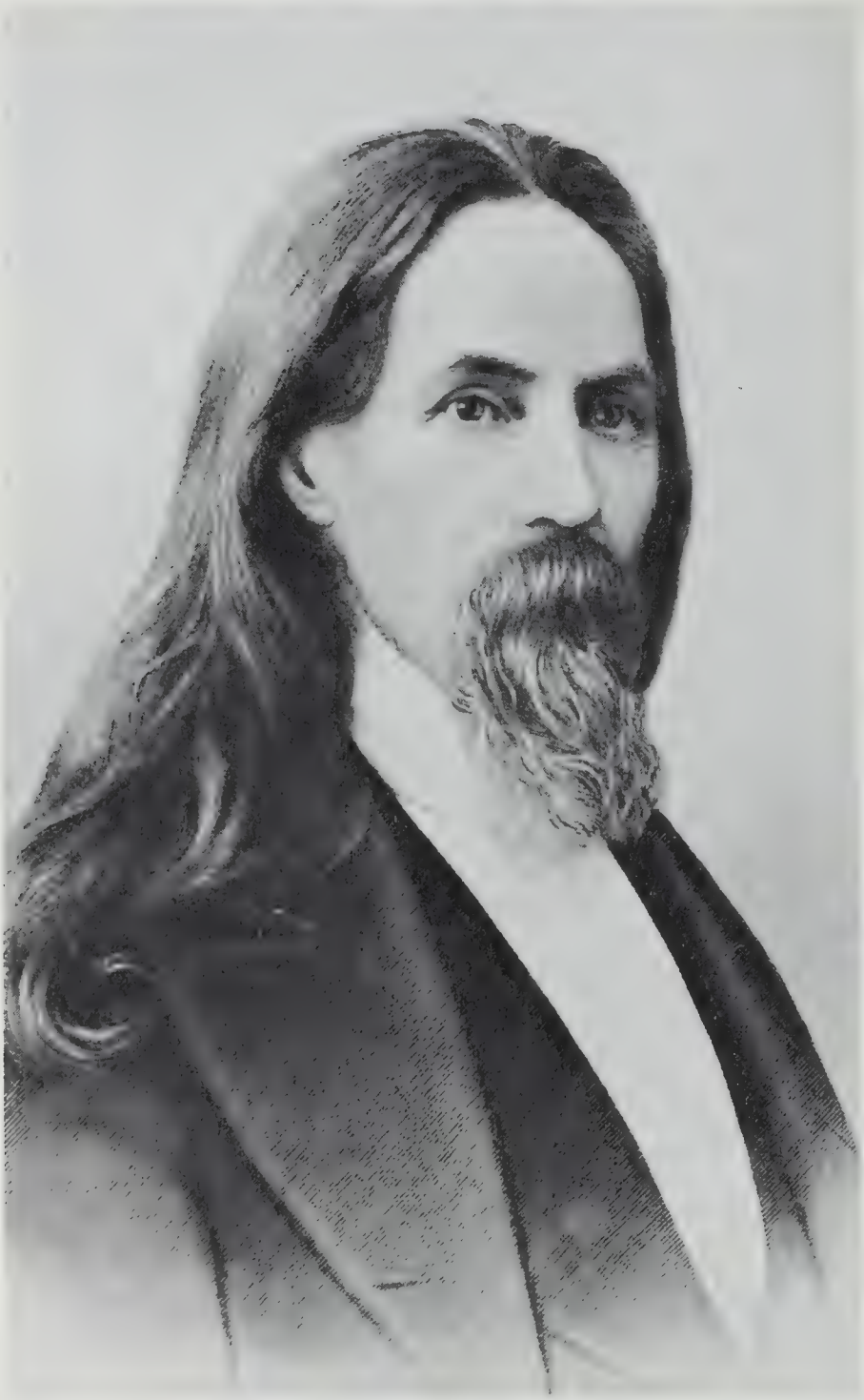
[3]John B. Meserve, "The MacIntoshes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, 1932.

[4]Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1916), Vol. III, pp. 1, 249 to 1, 250.



DANIEL NEWMAN McINTOSH
(Colonel D. N. McIntosh)

ly and accommodating man that we ever had the pleasure of knowing. They were the kind of folk who would go out of their way to do a favor if they thought that those who asked were honorable and upright in their requests.

Albert Gallatin "Cheesie" McIntosh was the eldest son of Daniel Newman McIntosh, born in the Indian Territory in 1848. During the Civil War, young Albert went to school in Jefferson, Texas, and later (about 1874) settled in Tennessee where he graduated from the Law School at Lebanon, married Miss Mary Boulton, daughter of one of that state's leading planters, and set up law practice at Carthage, Tennessee. Miss Boulton was a highly educated, industrious and capable young woman, and easily held an important place in the advancement and success of her husband who made history later in the Indian Territory. They became the parents of four sons before they came to Checotah, Indian Territory in 1901, to make their home. W. E. "Dode" McIntosh, born in Tennessee in 1893, is the only one of the four sons who survives.

William McIntosh, Dode's great-grandfather was Chief of the Lower Creek Division (so-called because their settlements were on the lower course of the Chattahoochee River) on the Georgia-Alabama frontier. He attained the rank of "general" for outstanding service with the volunteer troops of the U. S. Army on the frontier in the War of 1812. Officials at Washington developed the plan, promoted before this by President Thomas Jefferson, of removal of the Indian tribes from the Southeast to the West beyond the Mississippi River. General McIntosh depending upon the promises of Washington officials that the Indian tribes would obtain titles to their new lands in the West signed a treaty with U. S. commissioners in 1825, giving up a large part of the Creek lands in Georgia. This treaty was bitterly opposed by a majority of the Creek people, mostly the very conservative fullbloods of the Upper Creek Division (so called because they had their settlements on the upper courses of the Chattahoochee River). An armed band of Creeks of the opposition party surrounded and fired the house of William McIntosh, and shot him to death when he sought escape. This assassination of the Chief was perpetrated by the opposition party ostensibly to carry out the tribal death penalty against McIntosh for having signed away the tribal lands in Georgia by the recent Treaty of 1825, without due consideration and consultation with tribal leaders in the Council.[5]

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[5]Meserve, op. cit.; and Carolyn Thomas Foreman "Lee Compere and the Creek Indians," *"The Chronicles of Oklahoma,"* Vol. XLII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1964), pp. 291-99.

Chief William McIntosh was the son of Captain William McIntosh, a Scot, and his Creek Indian wife of Coweta Town (Lower Creek Division). Chief McIntosh had visited the country beyond the Mississippi River, and thus had seen this fine, new land in the West. His Scottish and Indian parentage produced a strong combination of character in him, uniting the love for freedom and for outdoor life with that of cool rational calculations and a long look into the future. He undoubtedly saw the land in the West as an opportunity for the Creek people to build their own great country which was promised to be theirs forever. General (Chief) William McIntosh left a legacy of inestimable value in faith, loyalty, friendliness, love, genuine neighborliness and frugality to those who have lived through the years since his time: the descendants of his family, all the Creek people and those of us who are descendants of the people who landed in America in the early part of the Seventeenth Century seeking freedom of religion, freedom of action and the right to build their country with their own government. We who came to America owe a debt of gratitude to such as Chief William McIntosh and other great Indians of this country for they gave their all which we have absorbed into our own way of life.

Chilly McIntosh, son of Chief William McIntosh, succeeded his father as chief and leader after the assassination, and led the first contingent of the Creeks (the followers of William McIntosh) west to the Indian Territory, landing at Fort Gibson in 1827. His uncle, Roley McIntosh accompanied this party of the McIntosh followers, and built up and operated a large plantation farmed by his Negro slaves, in the vicinity of present Coweta in the Arkansas River valley, now in Wagoner County. He became the Chief of the Lower Creeks in 1828, serving in this position until 1859 when he retired from the chieftaincy and was succeeded by Motey Kennard. He was advanced in years at the outbreak of the Civil War, and as a Confederate sympathizer, he moved to Texas to make his home with his niece, Delilah Drew (a daughter of the late Chief William McIntosh). He died in 1863, and was buried in an old family burial ground on the Drew Plantation near Jefferson, Texas.

The youngest son of Chief William McIntosh and his wife, Susannah, Daniel N. McIntosh (born in 1822 at Indian Springs, Georgia) came west to the Indian Territory with the third immigrant party of Creeks, in 1830. He was educated in Kentucky, was an ardent member of the Baptist Church, and held many positions of trust in the Creek Nation throughout his life. He served as Colonel of the First Creek Indian Regiment of the Confederate Army, which he organized at the outbreak of the Civil War. There were eight

members of the McIntosh family that served in this Creek Regiment during the War, and Colonel McIntosh himself did active and gallant service in many of the big battles of the War both in Indian Territory and Arkansas. It is well known that the McIntoshes were men of high Christian character, ability, fearlessness and courage, and were counted among the most influential leaders and wealthiest planters in the Creek Nation before the war. Colonel D. N. McIntosh represented his Nation among its delegates after the War, and signed the Creek Treaty of 1866 with the commissioners of the Federal Government at Washington. He regained much of his heavy losses in property suffered during the War, and became a successful farmer and stockraiser at his farm home near Fame, southwest of Checotah in present McIntosh County, where he died and was buried in the spring of 1895.[6]

Members of the McIntosh family continued as leaders in the Creek Nation and the Indian Territory. A statehood bill providing for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territories as one state was introduced by David Harvey, Delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory in January, 1892. Opponents of the inclusion of the Indian Territory as a part of the new state were delegates from the different Indian nations: A. P. McKellop, a prominent Creek from Muskogee; Roley McIntosh (namesake of the late Chief Roley McIntosh), a full blood Creek leader; E. C. Boudinot, a Cherokee; Capt. J. S. Standley, a Choctaw lawyer. It was Roley McIntosh, noted as an orator among the Creeks who spoke eloquently in his native language (interpreted by Capt. George Grayson of the Creek Nation) before members of the Congressional Committee setting forth the favorable and real conditions of the Indian Territory and calling attention of the Committee members to the provision made by Congress in the old Indian treaties, which read in part that "at no time shall the Indian Territory be included within the bounds of a state." Roley McIntosh expressed his confidence in closing his speech that Washington officials would keep this promise and "contract" with the Indians inviolate.[7]

The fight for statehood went on, however, and the question arose of admitting Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory (the last domain of the five tribes from the South) as two states— "double statehood" instead of a single state. Alex Posey, Creek poet and editor, Pleasant Porter, then the

[6]Meserve, *op. cit.*

[7]Thoburn, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 675-680; Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,* (New York, 1929), Vol. II, pp. 589-90.

WILLIAM E. McINTOSH
("Dode" McIntosh)

ALBERT GALLATIN McINTOSH
("Cheesie" McIntosh)

Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, and Cheesie McIntosh, well known Creek attorney (father of the present Chief of the Creeks, W. E. "Dode" McIntosh) and others joined in the fight for "double statehood." Among the non-Indians who aligned with the "double statehood" movement were Charles N. Haskell (from Ohio) who lived in Muskogee (later elected first Governor of Oklahoma); Tams Bixby, Sr., Editor of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix;* W. E. Decker, Editor of the *Muskogee Times-Democrat*; Morton Rutherford, United States Marshal in the last days of United States Court at Fort Smith; Ira Reeves, President of the Muskogee Street Railway Company then in operation; William H. Murray, an attorney in the Chickasaw Nation (a later congressman and still later elected Governor of Oklahoma). These men with others from over the Indian Territory held a convention in the old Turner Hotel at Muskogee, in the summer of 1905. They drafted a constitution for the Indian Territory as a single state to be called the "State of Sequoyah," honoring the name of the famed inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. The constitution of the proposed State of Sequoyah received little interest and only a light vote when submitted to a vote of the people living in the Indian Territory, and therefore did not have recognition in Congress.[8]

The move for "double statehood" was at an end. Congress had already provided the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes—better known as the Dawes Commission —to make up rolls of members of the five Indian nations, allotments of their lands in severalty and the close of their tribal governments. Commissioners and agents had been appointed by the President were at work in these matters, with headquarter offices at Muskogee. Until the work of the Dawes Commission was closed, the matter of statehood for the two territories was out of the question, politically speaking.[9]

Leaders in the early efforts for statehood, some for two states and others for a single state finally worked together for one state to be named "Oklahoma," this name suggested by Principal Chief Allen Wright of the Choctaw Nation after the close of the Civil War, in 1866.

Congress enacted the Enabling Act in 1906, providing for the two territories as one State. A Constitutional Convention called by the voters in the two territories in November,

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[8]Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention," *"The Chronicles of Oklahoma,"* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 161, 299-340.

[9]Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit., Vol. II,* pp. 607-624.

1906, was held in Guthrie. A state constitution was written, submitted to the voters on September 17, 1907 and accepted by an overwhelming majority. The people having thus complied with the conditions and stipulations of the Enabling Act, President Theodore Roosevelt issued and Executive Proclamation declaring Oklahoma a state on November 16, 1907.

The name of the old Creek McIntosh family has been well known in the development of Oklahoma. Alex McIntosh was internationally known as the Indian Artist "Acee Blue Eagle" from Oklahoma—Indian dancer and lecturer on American Indian customs—, born at Hitchita, in McIntosh County in 1910, and died at Muskogee in 1959.[10] And again the present Chief of the Creek tribe, W. E. "Dode" McIntosh who has held positions of trust both in business and in state government, having served as Treasurer of Tulsa County and elected to succeed himself in this position in 1960, retiring in 1963 to serve and carry on great plans for the Creek people as their Chief.

[10]"Notes and Documents: Acee Blue Eagle's Birthplace," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 80-84.

THAT NOBLE EXPERIMENT: A NOTE ON PROHIBITION IN OKLAHOMA

*By Jimmie L. Franklin**

The fight for constitutional prohibition in Oklahoma, and the subsequent struggle for an effective enforcement system provide colorful episodes in the state's political and social history. The Oklahoma Enabling Act passed in 1906 not only declared for single statehood, but also for prohibition for a period of twenty-one years in Indian Territory and in the Osage Indian Reservation. Congress, however, placed no restriction upon traffic in intoxicants on the Oklahoma side, which had been "Wet" throughout the territorial period. Thus when the Founding Fathers assembled at Guthrie to draft the Oklahoma Constitution, a major question was whether or not the sale of alcohol should be permitted in the western portion of the new state. The result of their action is a story familiar to most Oklahomans, but the intensive agitation and political maneuvering which gave birth to a policy that endured for more than half a century is little known. The following article examines very briefly the establishment of prohibition in Oklahoma, and it treats one specific aspect of the state's enforcement machinery, the dispensary system.

On November 6, 1906, elections were held for delegates to the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. Both "Drys" and "Wets" energetically sought to elect representatives partial to their interests.[1] The prohibitionists' objective was a restrictive liquor clause in the constitution covering the entire state. The Wets, on the other hand, were equally as determined to fight any ban on the sale of intoxicants. Thus when the Convention met at Guthrie on November 20, the stage was set for a heated debate. Although the question transcended party lines, the Democratic leadership could not evade the tremendous pressure from both sides to take a positive stand.[2]

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* Jimmie L. Franklin is a graduate-student assistant in the Department of History, the University of Oklahoma. This paper represents intensive research on the history of prohibition in Oklahoma, a subject that has had little attention though it played an important role in State history.—Ed.

[1]Paul Nesbitt (ed.), "Governor Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XIV (June 1936), p. 212.

[2]James R. Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1949" (unpublished PhD. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1949), p. 47.

The Dry forces lost little time in establishing headquarters at Guthrie. Led by Miss Abbie Hillerman, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union sent letters to ministers of all denominations, and to the staffs of Oklahoma's colleges and schools urging them to pass resolutions for prohibition. Miss Hillerman personally carried petitions containing 5,000 names to the Convention and with the aid of the sergeant-at-arms, these were placed on the delegates' desks.[3] It soon became a daily occurrence to hear petitions read for statewide prohibition. The National Anti-Saloon League imported its top lobbyist from Washington, Reverend E. C. Dinwiddie, to assist the local organization. His aggressive campaign committee was considered by many as a sort of "holding company" of Drys.

The anti-liquor forces realized what appeared to be a signal victory before the debate on the issue began. After the Convention had been in session several days, some of the members of the Anti-Saloon League, including E. C. Dinwiddie, E. M. Sweet, and H. T. Laughbaum, requested the support of Charles N. Haskell of Muskogee, Convention floor leader, in securing a friendly Committee on Liquor Traffic. He advised them to make a list of men upon whom they could rely, and he promised to ask William H. Murray, president of the Convention, to appoint them. The prohibitionists submitted the names of fifteen delegates whom they considered "safe." Haskell presented the list to Murray who appointed the entire committee as recommended by the League.[4] They were: Luke Roberts, W. A. Ledbetter, R. L. Williams, C. V. Rogers, J. V. Tosh, T. J. Leahy, E. F. Messenger, E. O. McCance, J. E. Sater, J. F. Stowe, J H. Cobb, H. S. Johnston, W. J. Caudill, G. W. Wood, and D. G. Harned. Eight of the committee came from Oklahoma Territory, seven from Indian Territory.[5] Once both Wet and Dry points of view had been heard, they recommended prohibition for the Indian Territory side of the state and local option for Oklahoma Territory.

The Anti-Saloon League, which had become the dominant voice of the Dry forces, "swallowed its ambition" and accepted the committee's compromise report. When Dinwiddie and Sweet approached their influential friend Haskell and urged his support of the proposal, the candid Muskogean replied: "Now look here . . . let's not waste any time. I won't support [the] report. I am here for state-wide prohibition."

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[3]*Minutes of the Oklahoma W.C.T.U.*, 1907, p. 331.

[4]Nesbitt, "Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," pp. 213-14.

[5]*Proceeding of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: State Capital Co., 1907), p. 72.

He thought the League had conceded its objective because of Robert L. Owen who acted as advisor to the group. Haskell wrote years later that the liquor interests had "bluffed" Owen into believing that they were an all powerful force in the Convention, and in turn he had persuaded the Drys to go along with the compromise. The floor leader emphatically pointed out to the temperance reformers that the Enabling Act had already guaranteed prohibition for Indian Territory. The report was not a compromise, he declared, it was defeat. The constitution, said Haskell, "must be uniform; I [am] opposed to any calico constitution that makes a thing a law in one part of the state and not in the other."[6] Thus, prohibitionists returned to their original goal.

Their sustained endeavor was not in vain. After hearing petitions, amendments, substitutes, and amendments to substitutes, the Convention decided upon prohibition for all Oklahoma. Very cleverly, however, its members chose to submit the question separately for approval at the forthcoming election lest the uncertainty of public sentiment jeopardize the ratification of the constitution.[7] The ordinance as finally drawn was authored by W. A. Ledbetter, and the suggestion to submit it separately was made by Robert L. Williams.[8]

Both Dry and Wet factions increased their activities as election day neared. The German American Association saw prohibition as a threat to liberal institutions and personal freedom and declared against it. Non-partisan, its position was clearly expressed in a public statement before the vote on the referendum:[9]

> . . . when a political issue is raised which is antagonistic to our views of life, threatens [our] liberal institutions . . . and infringes upon the personal privileges and rights of men, then we band together for the preservation of right and freedom. Such an issue is at hand just now. The German vote will be cast solidly against prohibition. . . . and we will support such candidates for state offices . . . who are known to uphold the liberal institutions of the country.

The Citizen's League[10] proved equally as vociferous in

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[6]Nesbitt, "Haskell Tells of Two Conventions," p. 215.

[7]*Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention,* p. 415.

[8]Scales, "Political History of Oklahoma," p. 48.

[9]*Daily Oklahoman,* April 4, 1907.

[10]The Citizens League was a "Wet" organization led by I. B. Levy of Guthrie, and J. P. Goulding of Enid. It stressed temperance without prohibition. Little information exists on the group. It is known, however, that the League, along with certain commercial interests were represented at Guthrie during the debate on the liquor question and agitated against the restrictive provision in the constitution. The exact nature of their campaign must be left to speculation for lack of official records.

its denunciation of prohibition. The League argued that such a policy would not aid temperance nor business. And the organization warned that prohibition would only encourage hypocrisy and would engender disrespect for all law. Moreover, the group maintained that it "benumbed the moral sense and leads to evasion," resulting not infrequently in perjury.[11] Beyond this, however, were the economic consequences of a Dry state. According to the League, prohibition would cut off valuable revenue; it stifled business; it discouraged investments, and depreciated the value of real estate; it was totalitarian in nature; and it was wrong in theory "because force is not a proper or successful instrument of moral reform."[12] And lastly, the League raised the question: Had not it been proved in other states with prohibition that it could not really dam the flow of ardent spirits?

Indeed, the liquor advocates agitated the question with such intensity and bitterness that many observers believed they were jeopardizing their own cause. Meeting with leaders of this group, William H. Murray warned that they were "digging your own graves. You are aggravating an issue and . . . intensifying the efforts of the prohibitionists." If they persisted, he cautioned, many citizens would vote for the constitutional restriction of liquor. "Why not let up a little," admonished Murray, "and let the public mind relax? You might win if the people are not too deeply aroused."[13] While Murray encouraged the Wets to soften their blows, he consummated a "deal" with the Drys which helped to insure both statehood and statewide prohibition.

Shortly after his talk with the "liquor crowd," Murray held a conference with leaders of the Anti-Saloon League. During this meeting, he promised that if the League would support statehood, he would work for prohibition. President Theodore Roosevelt, he reminded them, opposed the constitution and had threatened to refuse the state admission to the Union unless a Republican was elected Governor. Roosevelt, therefore, would need some encouragement. Murray set forth the League's chore:

> If you will merely put your best workers to work . . . writing letters to every Temperance Organization, every Church, and every person of prominence in the United States, covering every section of the country [urging them to write Roosevelt], you will guarantee statehood; and if you will guarantee statehood, I will guarantee

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[11]*Daily Oklahoman,* May 17, 1907

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]Gordon Hines, *Alfalfa Bill: An Intimate Biography* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Press, 1932), p. 212.

prohibition will be adopted. Leave that to me and I will leave to you the guarantee of statehood.[14]

With the Murray bargain sealed, the Drys felt confident of victory. *The Tulsa World*[15] as early as April, 1907, predicted that prohibition would carry, especially in the Indian Territory which would be Dry because of the provision in the Enabling Act. A great many people on that side of the state believed that there should be no sectional discrimination of any kind within the new state, and it was claimed, had decided to vote for prohibition if for no other reason than to play a joke on the western portion of the province.[16] The *Daily Oklahoman*[17] on the eve of the election thought the Drys would win. The Anti-Saloon League and its followers, however, did not relax their efforts, and on the day before the election held a large demonstration in the convention hall at Guthrie; a street parade was also staged to unify the various groups for prohibition.[18] The Drys returned home still uncertain about the effectiveness of the campaign which had been pushed forward with full force since the 1890's.[19]

On September 17, 1907, the people of Oklahoma and Indian Territories approved the constitution by a vote of 180,333 to 73,089. The prohibition clause carried 130,361 to 112,258. Contrary to speculation, Indian Territory did not play a joke on the Oklahoma side; it was just the other way around. Indeed, fifteen of the seventeen counties which opposed the Dry clause were in Indian Territory. Those were Carter, Coal, Craig, Creek, Johnston, Latimer, McIntosh, Nowata, Osage, Pittsburg, Rogers, Sequoyah, Wagoner, Washington, and Pushmataha. On the Oklahoma side Logan narrowly went against prohibition, while Oklahoma County voted decisively wet.[20]

In the same election the Democratic candidate, Charles N. Haskell, defeated the Republican Frank Frantz for Governor. Haskell of course was no stranger to the prohibitionists. At the Constitutional Convention he had nourished a

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[14]William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma* (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1945), p. 334.

[15]April 13, 1907.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]September 16, 1907.

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]For a brief account of prohibitionist activity before statehood see Jimmie L. Franklin, "Prohibition in Oklahoma, 1907-1919" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1964), 1-17.

[20]Seth Corden and W. B. Richards (comps.), *Oklahoma Redbook,* 1912 (2 vols.; Tulsa: Tulsa *Daily Democrat,* 1912), Vol. I, p. 295.

close friendship with Dinwiddie and other Drys, had urged Murray to appoint the men suggested by the Anti-Saloon League to the Liquor Traffic Committee, and always voted "right" on prohibition. During the gubernatorial campaign, he further sealed this friendship. Both party platforms were silent on the liquor question, but the two candidates had been pushed to state their views during the race. When pressed to clarify his stand on the issue, Frantz replied that "Every man has a right to vote his individual opinion," and "my own views are binding on no one . . . ." He noted further that it should not matter how his vote was cast since it would in no way "influence my course as Governor."[21] Frantz's evasiveness did not satisfy the Drys.

Haskell's position on the liquor question proved much more politic than his adversary's. At Norman he had been asked to express his attitude. "If I were not a candidate for public office," he told his listeners, "I would have the privilege of telling you that this was none of your business," but "I . . . would not vote for a man who tried to conceal his personal or political intentions."[22] The implication not to vote for Frantz was clear. "The man who hides," Haskell continued, "is a coward and this is no time to have a coward in charge of the new government. I intend to vote for statewide prohibition."[23] Haskell also charged his opponent with drunkenness.[24] Doubtless his stand at Norman, his record at the Constitutional Convention, and Frantz's failure to refute successfully the allegation that he occasionally imbibed, endeared Haskell to many a Dry heart.

Oklahoma's first governor wasted little time in setting forth his policy. In his inaugural address, he declared that the law would be enforced:[25]

> By a majority of more than eighteen thousand voters, the people of Oklahoma have declared in favor of statewide prohibition. That is now the law in this state; not placed in our constitution as a political requirement nor for mere sentimental purposes, but because a majority of the people believe that humanity will be better by having such a law and by having it enforced. I stand here today as one of your officers to assure you that law will be enforced, and I hope that when tomorrow morning's sun rises and forever thereafter as long as this law shall be the will of the people, that there will be no one within our border [s] disposed to violate this law, because

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[21]Oscar Fowler, *The Haskell Regime: The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell* (Oklahoma City: Boles Printing Co., Inc., 1933), p. 120.

[22]*Ibid.*

[23]*Ibid.*

[24]Shawnee *Daily Herald,* September 3, 1907.

[25]*Inaugural Address of Governor C. N. Haskell, November* 16, 1907 (Guthrie: Leader Printing Co., 1907), p. 9.

that violation is bound to meet with the punishment presented in the law.

As Prohibitionists busied themselves congratulating each other, and as Haskell pledged to stand by the constitution, the Wets prepared for an age of legal sobriety. In Oklahoma City it was reported that all saloons were doing a rushing business.[26] One whisky establishment, the Westzenhoffer and Turk Company, began early to dismantle, and printed a three column spread in one of the local papers advertising "Alfalfa Bill Bourbon" for one dollar a quart, and pints of "Old Crow" for fifty to sixty cents. The owner of the company lamented in satirical terms that: "It would be useless . . . to go into details with you as you all understand our REASON for giving these extremely low prices."[27] A Ponca City dramsman posted above his saloon this consoling statement: "Hush little saloon, don't you cry; you'll be a drug store, by and by."[28] A dispatch from Lawton noted that "much liquor is being stored away" for dry times.[29] The New State Brewery Company at Oklahoma City closed its doors and dumped some 27,000 gallons of beer into the sewers.[30] Prohibition spelled disaster in Oklahoma Territory to 550 retail saloons, 30 wholesale houses, and 2 breweries.[31]

The day before prohibition became effective, citizens gathered at the bar to sip farewell to the past and to toast the new order destined to take place tomorrow. At an early hour in Oklahoma City "good fellows, soaks and all" began to pay their respects to the parting of the ways. By eleven o'clock, one writer noted with a bit of exaggeration that "hades had taken a recess and was using Broadway and Main for a playground."[32] By midnight, there was nothing but a drunken mob.[33] Pandemonium, however, finally staggered to an end, and it appeared there would be peace in the new state.

In December, 1907, Governor Haskell asked the First Legislature for legislation to vitalize the constitution. Main-

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[26]*Oklahoma News,* November 13, 1907.

[27]*Daily Oklahoman,* October 13, 1907.

[28]Mary Goddard, "Well Went Dry Just 50 Years Ago," *Daily Oklahoman,* November 13, 1957, (Magazine section).

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]*American Issue,* July 1912. The *American Issue* was the monthly official publication of the Anti-Saloon League. This and subsequent citations refer to the Oklahoma edition.

[31]Eufaula *Indian Journal,* February 7, 1908.

[32]Albert McRill, *And Satan Came Also: An Inside Story of a City's Social and Political History* (Oklahoma City: Briton Publishing Co., 1955), p. 118.

[33]*Ibid.*

taining vigorously that "prohibition will prohibit," he thought successful and uniform enforcement of the law could only be achieved by giving the governor unhampered authority. County attorneys had already informed the chief executive that conditions were serious in their jurisdictions. Thus he was compelled to ask for greater authority lest local officials remain silent witnesses to evasion of the law.[34]

Responsive to the governor's request, the First Legislature considered an enforcement measure. The bill was introduced in the Senate by Richard A. Billups, an attorney from Cordell, and Chairman of the Senate Prohibition Committee. The Billups' Prohibition Bill passed the upper chamber by a vote of 36 to 7 on December 18, but not without vigorous opposition from a very vocal minority.[35]

Despite the overwhelming support in the Senate, the measure received a cool reception in the lower chamber. At the insistence of William H. Murray, Speaker of the House, a dispensary feature was added which would have provided for the establishment of a State Agency to sell liquors for medicinal purposes in accordance with the Constitution and the Enabling Act, and in towns of 1,000 population.[36] Irritated by this change, the Senate rejected the amendment by a unanimous vote of 32 to 0.[37] On February 4, 1908, State Senator J. Elmer Thomas suggested that consideration of the law be postponed indefinitely while a committee consisting of seven senators, seven representatives, and Governor Haskell rewrite a bill in compliance with the prohibition section of the constitution. Thomas' proposal was accepted. Representatives Murdock, Murray, Tillotson, Cape, Ross, and Hudson served from the House while Billups, Sorrels, Graham, Johnson, Blair, and Agee represented the Senate.[38]

The committee considered the liquor bill until March 20, 1908. At that time Senator Billups presented it to the Senate and recommended the acceptance of the measure with the

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[34]*Seventh Special Message of the Governor to the First Legislature, December* 12, 1907 (Guthrie: Leader Printing Co., 1907), pp. 18-19.

[35]*Journal of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma,* 1907-1908, p. 65.

[36]The Oklahoma Enabling Act specifically provided that the Oklahoma legislature "may provide by law for one agency . . . in each incorporated town of not less than two thousand population . . . and if there be no incorporated town of two thousand population in any county . . . such county shall be entitled to have one such agency . . ." Unquestionably, Murray's proposal to establish dispensaries in towns of 1,000, violated this provision of the Act. See U. S., *Statutes at Large,* Vol. XXXIV, p. 270.

[37]*Senate Journal,* 1907-08 p. 65.

[38]*Ibid.* p. 180.

dispensary amendment added by the House. The Democrats, who were in firm control of the legislature, were divided on the measure, but after an extended caucus, they agreed to support it provided that the dispensary provision of the constitution became effective at once, but those agencies to be established in towns of 1,000 should not be created until approved by a vote of the people. Under the leadership of Speaker Murray, the House finally passed the bill by a slim margin.

The Billups' law was very detailed. It contained three articles: The first two dealt with the dispensary, and the third concerned preventing the sale of liquors except through the agencies to be established by the state. Thus the agency system was an integral part of the state's enforcement machinery.

A few of the features of the new law demand attention because of their pertinence to subsequent events. The bill empowered the governor to appoint a general superintendent of the State Agency system who was to select clerks, laborers and other personnel. He was to make estimates of the amount of liquors needed for a period of three months and buy them on bid. Local agents were also appointed by the governor. Since the dispensaries were established primarily to sell alcohol for medicinal and other necessary purposes, the law required that persons could only purchase liquor upon a prescription from a licensed physician. Upon obtaining said prescription a "patient" who wished to secure "medicine" from these state controlled institutions had to make a sworn statement as to his name, and the purpose for which the liquor was being sold. Doctors recommending intoxicants except for a disease which required such treatment were liable to a fine of $200 to $1,000.[39]

Between April and the November election, the dispensary provision of the Billups' Bill was debated pro and con. One of the most vocal advocates of the agency system was Governor Haskell. Although he had originally opposed the sale of whisky for medicinal purposes, Haskell had changed his view because of "pressure from the public."[40] In defense of the agency, he pointed out that it was not a beverage dispensary—it was not a "barrel of whiskey with the head knocked in and a tin cup hanging [conveniently near]." The operation of the system was well guarded by the Billups'

[39]See the full text of the Billups' Bill in *Oklahoma Session Laws*, 1907-1908, pp. 594-614.

[40]*Address of Governor C. N. Haskell . . . Before the Oklahoma Prohibitionists, April* 15, 1908 (Guthrie: Leader Printing Co., 1908), p. 10.

Bill, and he would see to it that liquor put up under state supervision would be sold only upon the written prescription of a physician. Scolding the opponents of the dispensary, the chief executive stressed its importance to enforcement. The Governor noted that:[41]

> The complaint that the state is degrading itself and . . . . its women and children by putting these medicinal sales of liquor under its own control and direction, is a sudden awakening of pretended morality when it comes from a class of . . . individuals, who, in the [last] election were so unmindful of the morals of the state that they bitterly fought the adoption of prohibition. I warn you that they are utterly unfit to advise [those] who are engaged in fighting for practical enforcement of prohibition and the elevation of moral conditions. . . .

While Haskell was unsure of the economic value of the agency system to the state, he supported it because of its "moral" worth. If sales amounted to $50,000 per year, he said, the state would lose about $15,000. But in his speech to the Prohibition Party,[42] the governor admitted that the agency would represent an annual loss to the state of about $25,000.[43]

The Anti-Saloon League also declared for the agency system. Leaders of the organization claimed that its opponents were misrepresenting the law by using the term "dispensary," notwithstanding the fact that the word appeared nowhere in the Constitution or the Enabling Act. The attempt of the liquor interests, the group alleged, was to prompt the people to vote against the agency so that the stringency of prohibition would lead to its repeal. "The difference between the Oklahoma agency and the South Carolina dispensary," the *American Issue* declared, "is the difference between alcohol for purposes of debauchery," and "medicine when the doctor prescribes it." It was not "booze when any boozer wants it."[44]

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[41]*Daily Oklahoman,* March 25, 1908. For an interesting comment on the Billups' Bill see "Billup's Booze Bill," *Outlook,* LXXXIX (June 1908), p. 311 (Editorial page).

[42]The Prohibition Party held its first convention in Oklahoma in 1902. As was generally true of the organization throughout the nation, it never became a powerful political entity; nor did it become a very effective agent in mobilizing temperance sentiment. For a sketch of the party's history see D. L. Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States: A History of the Prohibition Party and The Prohibition Movement* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926), For a brief summary of the party's principles see, "The Prohibition Party," *Independent,* LXVII (April 1909), pp. 929-30.

[43]*Haskell's Address to Prohibitionists,* p. 12.

[44]*American Issue,* September, 1908, The father of the dispensary system in the United States was "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman of South

Taking a cue from the Anti-Saloon League, the Protestant churches swiftly swung into line. The Baptists urged adoption of the Billups' Bill in its entirety at the polls.[45] To defeat the agency, Presbyterians conjectured, was a clever attempt by the Wets to bring back the saloon with all its attendant evils. Its convention in 1908, condemned the "combined host of liquordom." It deplored the efforts of the "brewer, distiller, joint keeper, bootlegger . . . the lower class German American[s] . . . the Citizen's League, gamblers," and all those disgruntled politicians "of the baser sort and all the lawless anarchist class to overthrow our law." The liquor interests, they said, hoped to defeat the church and all good Christians by making the prohibition law inoperative, "bring it into disfavor [and] secure its [re]peal by resubmission . . . "[46] The Methodists, meeting at Shawnee a month before the election, urged its members to vote for the "only proper way of handling the sale of . . . liquor under the constitution . . . "[47]

Opponents of the system were equally as vocal as its advocates. Strangely enough, opposition came not only from anti-prohibitionists, but from many devoted Drys who thought the dispensaries practically nullified the constitution.[48] The Kay County Civic League, for example, an organization committed to complete prohibition, adopted a resolution pledging itself against the referendum.[49] While the Anti-Saloon League held that the W. C. T. U. favored

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Carolina. Tillman, as governor of the state, succeeded in having it incorporated as a part of the constitution of 1895. It provided for government ownership of the saloon business, and attempted to diminish the evils of the liquor traffic by eliminating such features as private profit, night hours, bar drinking, and credit system, by placing the sale of intoxicants entirely under state control. See Ernest H. Cherrington (ed.) *The Anti-Saloon Yearbook*, 1909 (Westerville: The Anti-Saloon League of America, 1909), pp. 177-78. For the operation of the system in another state see, Daniel J. Whitener, "The Dispensary Movement in North Carolina," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVI (January 1937), pp. 33-48.

[45]*Minutes of the Oklahoma Baptist General Convention*, 1908, p. 18. The year before, however, the Baptists had opposed the establishment of dispensaries, declaring that they were "subversive of morals and good government and tended to destroy the value of the . . . victory won . . . for prohibition." See *ibid.*, 1907, p. 86.

[46]*Minutes of the Synod of (the) Oklahoma Presbyterian Church*, 1908, p. 95.

[47]*Minutes of the Oklahoma Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1908, p. 70.

[48]"Booze Bill," *Outlook*, 311.

[49]Lexington *Leader*, October 2, 1908.

the dispensary measure, the women claimed that they were not![50] J. E. Wolfe, a Prohibitionist from Vinita, Oklahoma, ridiculed the agency in the following language:[51]

> Strange what a panacea for physical ills is wrapt up in a jug full of Sunnybrook [the agency's brand] liquid kill-devil, or a schooner of Budweiser rot-gun. . . . For let it be known that the patient who loves this liquid hell-fire and damnation, has a disease that is chronic and established in its nature, and therefore requires a continual application of the "curative agent".
>
> What a run on this lovely, beautiful beneficent institution called the State Dispensary there will be! Day in and day out these poor thirsty and sick mortals will be seen wending their way to the open door of this humane and sanctified state saloon. . . . Parsons, . . . deacons, and dead-beats, and all sorts of thirsty citizens [will crowd] around to obtain the precious sip. Who could have conceived of a more ingenious scheme to people hell than this State Dispensary Institution?
>
> Come Out From Among Them And Be Ye Separate, Saith The Lord, And Touch Not The Unclean Thing.

Others opposed the agency for a variety of reasons. The Sons of Washington,[52] organized in 1908 to remove Oklahoma from the ranks of the Dry states, called the state's policy hypocritical. There were also those who believed local agents would seek to maximize their profits by illegal sales. Moreover, opponents of the system maintained that the dispensaries would make it extremely difficult to trace the source of a drunkard's supply. That a public agency could possibly develop into a powerful and corrupt political machine as had been the case in some of the other states where they had been established, was a genuine fear shared by some. Republicans contended the system would be too expensive to operate.[53]

While the public argued the merits and demerits of the agency, local dispensers and dispensaries which had already been established by the state, experienced financial difficulties. There were seventy-nine towns in Oklahoma entitled to one of these "medicinal institutions." These were divided

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[50]Mrs. Nellie Holmes, a long time member of the organization, related to the writer that the Union considered the agency a "slip through." Personal interview with Mrs. Nellie Holmes, Tulsa, Oklahoma, March 16, 1963; see also Tulsa *Times, March* 27, 1908.

[51]Prohibition Files (Frederick S. Barde Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City).

[52]Care should be taken not to confuse the Oklahoma Sons of Washington with the Sons of Temperance which was an outgrowth of the Washington movement of the 1840's. The Oklahoma group was incorporated in 1908 as the Grand Lodge of the Sons of Washington. Its founders were John Threadgill, J. M. Haley, and Lewis Kickoff, all of Oklahoma City. See the Lexington *Leader,* July, 1908.

[53]*Daily Oklahoman,* March 25, 1908.

into districts of about twenty towns each, all under a separate inspector.[54] When the Billups' Bill passed the legislature great glee prevailed over the financial possibilities of the agency system. It was not long, however, before the cold truth became evident—the dispensaries were "financially sick." At Guthrie, citizens seemed remarkably free of ills; the local agent there for one five-week period sold only $3.20 worth of liquors. In Oklahoma City, with some 50,000 population, total sales between May and August of 1908, amounted to only $8.00. Purchases at other representative cities up to August included: Hugo, $15.57; Lawton, $6; Blackwell, $3.20; Shawnee, $9.85; Ardmore, $28.27; Durant, $22.50; Alva, $34; Arapaho, $1.60; and Mangum, $15.85.[55] In the sixty-five day period following the establishment of the agencies, the report of Superintendent Robert Lozier showed that the State spent $8,437.96 in selling $3,811.88 worth of whiskey and alcohol. Total expenditures came to $25,051.95, of which $16,613.99 was spent for whiskey and alcohol.[56] Such figures did not readily commend the agency system to the taxpayers in November.

The issue in the election turned out to be very confusing. As indicated, both the Constitution and the Enabling Act permitted the establishment of agencies in towns of two thousand population or above, and if no county had a town of that size, one agency could be created at some place to be determined by the state. The proposed amendment would have altered the Oklahoma Constitution by granting the legislature power to establish local agencies in communities of 1,000 population and at other places. It appeared to be a simple proposition; the ballot title, however, made it an extremely perplexing issue. It read:[57]

> State Question No. 1 is a proposed constitutional amendment and relates to the law now in force, establishing a State Agency and local agencies for the sale of intoxicating liquors for medical and scientific purposes only; each sale to be registered; no sale to be made except upon prescription signed by a registered practicing physician; if adopted will amend the Constitution so as to authorize the Agency Superintendent, with the approval of the governor, to establish one such agency in each town of one thousand population, or wherever else a public necessity exists therefor.

In the November election, the amendment was defeated by a vote of 105,392 to 121,573. Governor Haskell, therefore,

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[54]*Haskell's Address to Prohibitionists.* p. 11.

[55]Prohibition Files (Barde Collection); see also New York *Times,* August 1, 1908.

[56]Prohibition Files (Barde Collection).

[57]*Biennial Report of Benjamin F. Harrison, Secretary of State of . . . Oklahoma, for the Two Year Term Ending November* 30, 1912 (Oklahoma City: Peerless Press, 1912), p. 20.

closed all the dispensaries. Immediately, friends of the agency proclaimed that the vote had not been on the dispensaries then in operation, but on whether or not the constitution should be amended to permit them in towns of one thousand. The ballot title, they said, was contradictory and void, and that it prevented a voter from recording his wishes, since he might have been for one proposal and against the other, but could only vote yes, or no.

The issue was finally resolved in the courts. In *Alexander Drug Company vs Robert Lozier*, District Judge A. H. Huston, of Logan County ruled that:[58]

> There [was] nothing . . . to indicate to the voter that he could express his will by his vote upon the question of the repeal of the law as it exists. In fact he was given no such opportunity. He might have been opposed to amending the constitution so as to authorize the Agency superintendent to establish an Agency in towns of one thousand population, and still have been in favor of the present dispensary system, which is in accord with the constitution. In such case he had no opportunity to express his will at all, and it can not be presumed from information on the ballot that he could have known that a vote against the proposed amendment to the constitution should have operated as a vote in favor of the repeal of the present dispensary law.
>
> The state agency, therefore, as it was originally enacted, except the unconstitutional part providing for agencies in towns of one thousand population . . . is still a law. . . .

Governor Haskell directed an appeal from the decision of the lower court. In the meantime, he urged the legislature to take action on the question. The chief executive told the legislators that the dispensaries established under the Bill-ups' Bill, counting the value of property on hand, had been self-sustaining, hence no ultimate draft on the taxpayers had been made. The entire amount appropriated by the legislature for the operation of the dispensaries or its equivalent for law enforcement was still on hand. Moreover, Haskell stressed that a large stock of confiscated liquors and other property housed at Guthrie would represent a profit once sold.[59]

It was easy to comprehend Haskell's ignorance of the financial status of the agency. Robert Lozier, the agency's first superintendent was perhaps honest, but nevertheless an incompetent administrator. The State Examiner sent both the governor and the Democratic party into a roar when he reported in July of 1909 that "during the period . . . Robert

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[58]On appeal Judge Huston's decision was subsequently upheld by the Oklahoma Supreme Court. See *Robert Lozier* vs. *Alexander Drug Company*, 23 Okla., p. 1.

[59]*First Message of the Governor to the Second State Legislature, January* 5, 1909 (Guthrie: Leader Printing Co., 1909), pp. 10-11.

Lozier was superintendent, the accounts and records made of the transaction in the State Agency were very incomplete, erroneous . . . indefinite and were improperly kept."[60] He also found numerous cases "where acid had been used to make erasures on the books, checks, etc"[61] Haskell condemned Lozier's poor methods, but defended his honesty.

Once the Oklahoma Supreme Court upheld the decision rendered by Judge Huston, Haskell was left with no choice but to reopen the dispensaries. In a special proclamation the agency system was reactivated, but with certain reservations imposed by the governor.[62]

> The people of Oklahoma . . . are entitled to have one agency kept and maintained by the state in every town of 2,000 people or more, and where no such town exists in any county, then at one place of less population in any such county, but that no such agency will be established or maintained until receipt of a petition in writing therefor presented to me by a reasonable proportion of the inhabitants of such town or county requesting the opening and maintenance of such agency which petitions may be presented at the will of the people. . . .

By the end of 1909, nineteen agencies had been established under the general superintendency of S. W. Stone who replaced Lozier.[63] The State received petitions from twenty-three towns for agencies, but four were denied because of local opposition.

Since Haskell had pushed the Billups' Bill establishing the dispensaries, he could not easily repudiate them. Governor Cruce, however, who succeeded Haskell in 1911 did not find himself in such a precarious position. He regarded the law inadequate in that:[64]

> We refuse the individual the right to deal in intoxicating liquors holding that the same is wrong, yet in a collective capacity, we have established dispensaries, where the state handles these outlawed liquors, and that, too, in the face of the fact that the people . . . by a popular vote, declared against [them]. If it is wrong for the individual to sell them, though you try to disguise the individuals by calling them the 'State.' I therefore recommend that you abolish the dispensary system in this State. . . .

The governor's argument, although admirable, served to camouflage the real issues surrounding the agencies. The

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[60]"Report of the Special Committee (on the State Agency)." (Special Collection on Prohibition, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City), p. 1.

[61]*Ibid.*

[62]See Governor Haskell's proclamation in the Beaver County *Herald*, June 10, 1909.

[63]Vinita *Weekly Chieftain, June* 11, 1909.

[64]See Governor Cruce's speech to the Third Legislature in *Senate Journal*, 1911, pp. 117-18.

fact was that the dispensaries had incurred general disfavor, while failing to live up to the financial expectations of the politicians. Moreover, there were complaints of their misuse in some areas. The chief director of the Dry forces, the Anti-Saloon League which had crusaded across the state in 1908 proclaiming that the Wets were misrepresenting the state agency idea, had now become its bitter opponent. In commenting on the issue early in 1911, Dr. George Conger, superintendent of the League, denounced the system as "distasteful to us as to everyone else." In an attempt to vindicate the past action of the organization, Conger remarked that "it was put in as a temporary measure in the first place [and] was not altogether satisfactory . . . but seemed to be about the best we could do it the time."[65]

The politicians were equally as cognizant of the agencies' failure and sought to redeem themselves of the error committed nearly three years earlier. In January of 1911, a bill was introduced in the legislature designed to improve enforcement, and to abolish the dispensaries. Throughout the entire session everyone reconciled themselves to the fate of the once hopeful experiment. The measure to discontinue the dispensaries passed the House by a vote of 91 to 4, and the Senate, 36 to 6. Thus Oklahoma's adventure in the liquor business came to an inglorious end. But the public sentiment which gave birth to prohibition insured its continuance for nearly half a century more.

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[65]*Daily Oklahoman,* January 5, 1911.

NEOSHO AGENCY 1838-1871

*By Frank H. Harris**

All of the Indian Tribes, exclusive of the Cherokees, that were located in the northeast corner of the present State of Oklahoma from 1838 to 1871, were within the jurisdiction of the Neosho Agency.[1] The lands to which these small Indian Tribes were assigned, comprises that part of the present Ottawa County, Oklahoma, that lies east of Neosho and Grand Rivers; and includes a strip of land about three miles wide in northern Delaware County, bounded on the west by Grand River and on the east by the State of Missouri. Portions of three small immigrant Indian Tribes were sole owners of these lands until 1868. These three Indian Tribes were: the Seneca band from Sandusky, Ohio; the Quapaw band from Arkansas Territory; and the mixed band of Seneca and Shawnees from Lewistown, Ohio.

When Robert A. Callaway was appointed Neosho Agent by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on December 1, 1837, he re-established order and tranquility for these Indian Tribes that had been lacking since the departure of the resident Seneca Sub-Agent. Mr. Callaway could have moved into the old Seneca Sub-Agency buildings, on Buffalo Creek, but chose instead to move to a site more centrally located among the three Indian Tribes. Lacking governmental funds with which to build an agency house, he made use of some old deserted buildings, near a generous spring of water not far from Brush Creek.[2] The structures consisted of four hewed log buildings erected by A. P. Chouteau in the 1820's,

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* Mr. Frank H. Harris has found the research for this story of the Neosho Agency a difficult one. He began field research for the site of Crawford Seminary (pre-Civil War Quapaw school in charge of the Methodist Conference missionaries) in 1956. This research proved fruitless without checking the records of the Agency which he began in 1959. This, too, proved scant data until he extended his search into the Cherokee and Choctaw Agency records as well as those of the several superintendencies and the "Letters Sent" from the commissioners at Washington. The study of the records presented here gives a glimpse into the lives of the persons involved and of events in the Ottawa County region, the early history of which has had little notice in Oklahoma history. — Ed.

[1]The "Neosho Agency" was often referred to as the "Neosho Sub-Agency" by the various Neosho Agents until 1851. This Agency however, was at no time subservient to another Indian Agency, but was directly responsible only to the various successive Indian Superintendencies and to the Indian Commissioner in Washington.

[2]The site of the old Seneca Sub-Agency on Buffalo Creek is given with its history by Frank H. Harris in "Seneca Subagency,

to serve as a trading post. Monsieur Chouteau had maintained a stock of goods there, to trade with the Osage hunters and trappers of that vicinity for their pelts and furs.

On August 28, 1840, Mr. Callaway resigned as Neosho Agent, and accepted the appointment as Agent for the Osage Indians in Kansas. Lacking agency buildings on the Osage lands, he continued to reside in the adopted Neosho Agency buildings with his successor.[3] This arrangement made it necessary for him to travel sixty miles back and forth to the Osage lands. Smallwood V. Noland was named Neosho Agent, September 3, 1940. Mr. Noland soon became disillusioned with his agency duties and environment in the early spring of 1841, and departed from the Indian Country. On June 1, 1841, Western Superintendent, Captain Francis Armstrong, appointed his personal friend, John B. Luce, to fill the vacancy.

Agent Luce soon chose a new site on which to erect a new agency building. His choice of a new site, was at a point between the Neosho and Pomme De Terre (Spring) Rivers, on the lands of the Seneca-Shawnees, but the Indian Department in Washington denied him the necessary funds to erect the new building.[4] As an alternative he then sought to draw funds with which to pay for repairs on the badly deteriorated Agency buildings. This request was also denied, and acting without authorization he paid John Biggs $150 from funds withheld from the Indians under his charge to erect two small cabins near the old trading houses. The cab-

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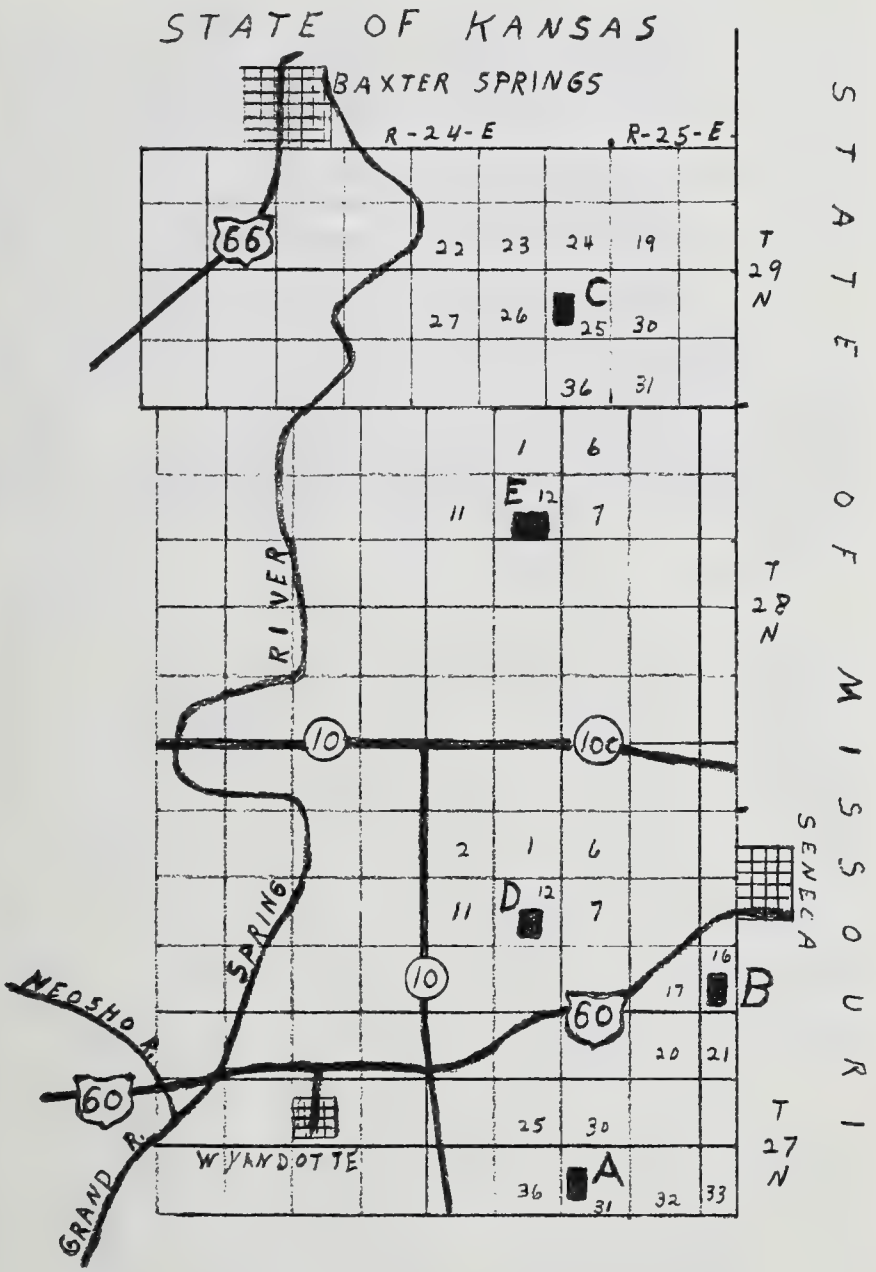
1832-1838," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964).

[2a]. Records of the War Department. The Charles Dimmock Survey, 1837. Neosho Agency. Fixed Property Statement, March 31, 1841. Western Superintendency. S. C. Stambaugh to Commissioner Herring, 1833.

When Indian Commissioners, Henry Ellsworth and John Schermerhorn, with their Secretary, S. C. Stambaugh treated with the Seneca-Shawnees in December, 1832, they resided in these deserted buildings. John G. Oliver, operated a trading post there from 1833 to 1837. Mr. Chouteau established a central trading post at the Grand Saline (Salina, Oklahoma) in 1817. Later he established three less important posts at various points near Grand River, this site being one of them. By 1831, the Osage Indians had so denuded the area of choice fur bearing animals that Mr. Chouteau found the business there no longer profitable. This is the first recorded fragment of history that transpired within the present limits of Ottawa County. This site is located in the NW¼ of the SW¼ of section 31, Township 27 N and Range 25 E on property presently owned by Miss Marguriete Thompson.

[3]Western Superintendency: Captain William Armstrong to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 19, 1841.

[4]Choctaw Agency: Armstrong to Luce, August 17, 1841.



SECTIONALIZED PLAT OF A PORTION OF OTTAWA COUNTY SHOWING LOCATIONS OF THE SITES OF THE NEOSHO AGENCY, 1838-1871.

A. Chouteau's Trading House and site of the first Neosho Agency, 1838-1845. B. Second site of Neosho Agency, used 1845-1852. C. Second site of Crawford Seminary and used as the Neosho Agency, 1852-1861. D. Last site of the Neosho Agency, 1865-1871. Following this date it became known as the Quapaw Agency and remained here until 1901. E. Present site of Peoria, Oklahoma and the first site of the Crawford Seminary, 1843-1848.

ins were no sooner built than they caught fire and burned, leaving the four old Chouteau trading houses intact.[5] Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford refused payment for these cabins as well as subsequent expenditures Agent Luce paid to repair the old buildings.[6] Agent Luce was described as an "avid hunter." He became well acquainted with the lands under his jurisdiction while on hunting trips for wild hogs that lived in the tangled bottoms near Grand River. In 1842, he reported:[7]

> The Indians of this Agency are becoming more industrious and more temperate. They are raising more crops and are better clothed. The heavily timbered bottoms on the Pomme De Terre and the Neosho afford not only good winter range for cattle but an abundance of mulch for hogs. The Quapaws have a coal bank immediately on the north. The coal is bituminous of good quality, easily obtained and the supply is apparently inexhaustible. In the vincinity of the coal, there are mineral tar springs, or rather springs of sulphur water and mineral tar and petroleum together, as the latter substance rises with the water separating from it immediately after it imparts from the earth.

The third article of the treaty made at New Gascony, Arkansas Territory, between the U. S. Government and the Quapaws, stipulated that $1000 per year would be made available to the Quapaws to educate their children. In 1840, the Quapaw Chiefs, led by Joseph and James Vallier, sent petitions to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, to urge the U. S. government to fulfill its part of this treaty.[8] The matter was not acted upon until the Reverend S. G. Patterson visited the Quapaws in council, January 18, 1843, and offered to establish a mission boarding school among them.[9] Agent Luce was much opposed to the idea that unwarranted white persons should enter the lands under his charge, and promptly ordered Mr. Patterson to leave. The Reverend Mr. Patterson protested vigorously and sent the following letter to Secretary of War, J. C. Spencer:

> I do hereby certify that Mr. John B. Luce came to my house in the Quapaw Nation on the 18th day of January last and demanded my authority for being in the Indian Country. I informed him that the Indians in Council had given me liberty to establish a mission

[5]Neosho Agency: Luce to Luke Lea, Commissioner, August 21, 1842. Agent Luce reported that the Indians burned the woods each fall and this presented a hazard to all the wooden buildings.

[6]Letters Sent. Records of the Office of Indian Affairs: Letter Book, 35:189 — Crawford to Armstrong, 1844.

[7]Luce to Crawford, September 30, 1842, *op. cit.*

[8]*Ibid.* Quapaw Chiefs to President Van Buren, September 15, 1840.

[9]D. B. Cumming to J. C. Spencer, Secretary of War, January 31, 1843. The Reverend S. G. Patterson was a Methodist circuit preacher from Sarcoxie, Missouri. He was a brother of the much respected John Patterson, who settled in Enterprise, Missouri, and for whom Patterson Creek was named, *Ibid.*

among them; and showed him written authority from Bishop Roberts to do so; to which he replied, "that is no authority at all": and notified me to leave the Indian Country in three days, or I should be put out by force, and taken by the dragoon to the calaboose, and fined for violating the intercourse law. Given under my hand this 4th day of February A.D. 1843.

Despite the opposition of Agent Luce, Mr. Patterson was able to open a school on March 27, 1843, in a makeshift log cabin with nine Quapaw children present. On December 15, 1843, Commissioner Crawford authorized Agent B. B. R. Barker to spend $300 for the erection of a school house for the Quapaw children.[10] By October 1, 1843, $272.00 had been spent to board, clothe and to buy books for the children.

The time of the annuity payments was one of happiness for the Indians but was a time of annoyance and anxiety for the Agent. The authorized white traders in each Indian Nation seized this occasion to make extra sales to the Indians. The lively competition in which they engaged was annoying to Mr. Luce. Before the annual payment was made in March 1842, he issued orders to the traders, to remain at their respective places of business and not to bring along goods to sell at the site of the payments. Mr. Gillaspie, the Quapaw farmer, resented this order and started an argument with the Agent. The argument led to a bitter brawl, which reached its culminate climax when Agent Luce drew his knife and stabbed Mr. Gillaspie to death.[11] Agent Luce was exonerated of blame for the slaying in a hearing at Little Rock, Arkansas, but on August 16, 1842, he was transferred to the Council Bluffs Agency. Mr. Luce named his colleague, Joshua D. Luttrell, farmer for the Quapaws, to perform the duties of Neosho Agent. With Mr. Luce's assistance, Mr. Luttrell acted as Neosho Agent until an authorized one could be found. When Thomas Irwin, clerk for the Western Superintendency, died in December 1843, Superintendent William Armstrong appointed Mr. Luce to fill the vacancy.

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[10]Letters Sent. Letter Book, 35:189 — Crawford to Barker, June 5, 1844. According to subsequent correspondence, the first location of Crawford Seminary was at the present site of Peoria, Oklahoma. During these early years the Quapaws concentrated near the creeks and streams or near good springs of water on the wooded lands east of Spring River. It was necessary for them to build their homes near natural water supplies since the cost of drilling and shooting the hard rock in dug wells was usually prohibitive.

[11]Western Superintendency. Armstrong to Crawford, April 11, 1842. The altercation occurred at the trading house of Mr. Gillaspie, located at the present site of Peoria, Oklahoma. The two combatants at first beat each other with sticks. As the fight became more heated, they both drew pistols, fired and missed, except for a bullet that passed through Mr. Luce's pantaloons. Mr. Gillaspie reached for another pistol which misfired. He then grabbed for a rock, at which time Mr. Luce pulled his knife and stabbed him to death.

Commissioner Crawford had some difficulty finding a qualified person to serve as Neosho Agent. He offered the position to several of his eastern friends who readily declined. The position required a man of some intelligence and one possessed of enough physical fortitude to enable him to endure a number of hardships. The roads in the new lands were rough and dangerous to travel. The woods and valleys near the road provided ideal coverage for the highwaymen that sometimes attacked the unwary traveler. This situation became so acute that most agents found it necessary to carry a rifle in their carriage. It was also the custom for an agent to carry side arms at all times, for his personal protection and to emphasize further his authority to the Indians.

Colonel B. B. R. Barker, of Virginia, accepted the position of Neosho Agent, on May 28, 1843. The old trading houses by this time were in a bad state of repair and are best described by Mr. Luttrell:

> . . . . the bildins have no winders left and the dores have been riped of and caried away by the indians whilst the main bildin has onle haf a Flore left — the tabl and cheer som won has made and allso the bedd — the roofe is bad and lets in the raine and a Woode boxe in one corner holds the agints papirs — I estumate 100 dollars would refit the place —

The chaotic condition of the agency was a surprise and disappointment to Mr. Barker. His first letter to Superintendent Armstrong was as follows:[12]

Captain Armstrong, Acting Supt. May 28, 1843

I arrived here on 28th. day of May last and with the expectation of finding a good office for an agent with all necessary instruments for his use, both for instruction and convenience, but to my surprise instead of a good substantial Agency house well supplied with papers for my use I found an old trading house ready to fall to pieces which had been sometimes used as an office [illegible] as I learn of the approbation of the owner and a few papers not sufficient to be of any service and they at any moment liable to be destroyed by the Indians as they had free access to them. So you see it is absolutely necessary for the interest of the country to erect an agency house, for situated as things now are, everything in the hands of the agents the instant he leaves his place, is at the mercy of the Indians, and it is a matter of improbability as you well know for an agent to be constant in one place and at the same time discharge his duties as an agent should. The old house of which I speak has long since been deserted by its owner and as I suppose as a necessary consequence he has forfeited his claim by so doing, if

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[12]Neosho Agency. Barker to Armstrong, May 28, 1843. In letters that followed, Mr. Barker complained that so few records existed that he was unable to carry out the necessary services to the Indians, and asked that he be supplied with new records from the Superintendency. In almost every instance the records were nearly all lost or carried away by the departing Agent. This was especially true until the end of the Civil War, which partly explains the scarcity today of the Agency Field Records.

so, $600 will be sufficient to refit it so as to make it somewhat comfortable. It is the best location I think for an Agency of any in the nation. It is situated in a healthy part of the country and very contiguous to an excellent spring. I earnestly hope you will give the subject your serious attention in communicating with the department the first opportunity.

I am Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
B.B.R. Barker

Agent Barker hired F. W. Daniels to make minor repairs on one of the old trading houses and lived there until January 1845. He asked Commissioner Crawford for an appropriation of $600 to spend for repairs on the old buildings and this permission was granted. However, on August 23, 1844, he informed Mr. Crawford that the location of the old buildings was, "unhealthy and therefore an improper one for an Agency." Shortly thereafter he made a verbal contract with Mr. Daniels to build an agency house at a new site for the authorized $600.[13]

The Indian Agents, from time to time, made detailed reports of the amount of whiskey they destroyed on the Indian lands. Surprisingly, only one Neosho Agent was accused of drinking and, in this instance, only moderately. Agent Barker was especially efficient in preventing the introduction of liquors into his territory, and seems to have destroyed more than either of the other Agents. He seized and destroyed a wagon load of whiskey from a, "Mr. Bryant," who was passing through the Seneca lands. He was also very interested in the new school established for the Quapaws and used his time and influence to help make the project a success.

As an added inducement to encourage the mixed band of Seneca-Shawnees to leave Ohio, the 8th Article of the treaty made between this Indian band and the U. S. Government, in 1831, stipulated that the United States would provide funds for the erection of a saw-mill at a suitable site in the new lands. Agent Barker sought to fulfill this promise made to the Seneca-Shawnees but the United States failed to provide the necessary funds. The mill was to be powered by water. Barker's choice for a mill site was on Lost Creek near a point that a grist and saw-mill was erected many years

[13]*Ibid.* Barker to Armstrong, January 19, 1845. The new site was located about three miles northeast of the old Chouteau trading houses, on the south bank of an upper branch of Sycamore Creek. The Agency was situated on high ground, near a perpetually generous spring of water. This branch of Sycamore Creek was at that time known as "Lewistown Creek". It derived its name from the Seneca-Shawnee band of Indians from Lewistown, Ohio, who settled along this creek before they found it was not on their lands. This site is in the SW¼ of the SW¼ of Section 16, Township 27 N and Range 25 E, on property presently owned by Mr. Gerald Schmidt.

later.[14] The proposed mill site was on Seneca lands but Agent Barker was confident that the Senecas would grant permission to erect the mill on their lands.

The boundary lines for these three Indian Tribes were not surveyed until 1838. When the Quapaws and the Seneca-Shawnees first arrived in their new lands, some families built their homes too far south of their own tract. This resulted in the loss of their homes for these unfortunate individuals and in despondency they appealed to the U. S. Government for compensation. These claims were not honored and some of the Quapaws, disillusioned and much discouraged, strayed to other lands of their kin. The Indians were not the only ones confused by the boundary lines, for the Government employees built the first Seneca-Shawnee blacksmith shop on the lands of the Senecas, west of Chouteau's old trading houses and on the northern bank of Sycamore Creek; furthermore, they built the Quapaw blacksmith shop and their farmer's home on the lands of the Seneca-Shawnees, north of Lost Creek in the Seneca-Shawnee village of Shawnee Town. The Quapaws bitterly resented this location of their blacksmith shop and finally succeeded in getting it moved north to their own lands, near the first site of Crawford Seminary.

The Government employees, hired to assist the Quapaws in 1842, were as follows: George W. Nutting, blacksmith; Joseph Downey, assistant blacksmith; Joshua D. Luttrell, farmer; and Lewis Botarny, interpreter. The Seneca employees were John Saltsman, blacksmith; Joshua Wright, miller; and James Brown, assistant blacksmith. The Seneca-Shawnees employed Alfred Long, blacksmith; John Kennedy, assistant blacksmith; and Lewis Davis, interpreter. The agent, blacksmith and miller received $600 per annum for their services. The assistant blacksmith received $240 per annum and the interpreter received $150. The blacksmith made most of the tools so badly needed by the Indians. In 1842 the Seneca blacksmith, John Saltsman, among many other items, made 100 spikes for arrows, 12 axes and 1000 shingle nails. The iron and steel items were ordinarily expensive and difficult to procure. A shingle nail was inventoried at one cent each. Each of the three Indian Tribes was furnished 2,000 pounds of iron and steel annually and this nearly fulfilled their needs. The successive Indian Agents obtained their iron and steel supplies from either R. B. Jones of Neosho, Missouri or from a "Mr. Wilson" of Sarcoxie, Missouri. Iron cost the government 8c per pound and steel 24c per pound.

[14]A grist and saw mill, powered by water was built near Wyandotte, Oklahoma, in 1896, by Mr. Henry Hollandsworth.

Each Indian tribe usually had one white trader within its boundary. These traders were required to post a $5,000 bond to prove their solvency and to assure the Government of their competency. It was the agents' privilege to choose the trader from several applicants and to issue the license. The annuity payments made to the Indians were paid in copper and silver coins. These coins were sometimes exchanged at a premium rate for money of a larger denomination by some of the larger business firms, and the traders were especially glad to receive them. The trader, Mr. F. W. Daniels lived near the old trading houses and conducted his business near there for the Senecas.[15] When the trader for the Quapaws, Mr. Gillaspie, was killed, John A. Mathew bought his store and a portion of his stock of goods and resumed business there.

Shortly after receiving possession of the new agency, Agent Barker returned to Virginia to visit his family. While there he contracted pneumonia and died after several days of illness. On June 25, 1845, Samuel S. Rains from Missouri was appointed Neosho Agent. Agent Rains immediately discharged the government employees holding jobs within the three Indian Tribes, and hired friends of his own choosing. He hired his brother-in-law, James Cravens from Jasper County, Missouri, to act as farmer for the Quapaws. Mr. Cravens was soon denounced by the Quapaw Chiefs and by John Phelps of Neosho, Missouri, as being a drunkard and therefore unfit for the position.[16]

The chiefs of the three Indian tribes, on September 27, 1848, sent separate memorials to Commissioner Medill, in Washington, accusing Agent Rains of withholding funds due them for his personal aggrandisement. They also accused him of delivering only one-half of their iron and steel allotment and of overcharging for it. This charge was also veri-

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[15]Neosho Agency. Agent Rains to William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 17, 1846. Although Mr. Daniels lived near the old trading houses, he conducted his own trading house at Strawberry Plains. Strawberry Plains gained its name from the fact that this area was reportedly covered with wild strawberries each spring. Its location is described as lying north and near the head of Lewistown Creek. Strawberry Plains then presumably embraced portions of the present sections 18 and 19 Township 27 N and Range 25 E. in Ottawa County.

[16]*Ibid.* Phelps to Medill, December 24, 1846. Many of the Missouri residents, living as far from the Indian Nations as Neosho, signed petitions either approving or disapproving of Agent Rains' action. The Quapaw Chiefs accused Mr. Cravens of corrupting the Indian youth. They also stated that he attended their Council meeting with a pistol and a bowie knife. At the same time the Chiefs had only high praise for the Reverend Mr. Patterson, and described him as, "a very honorable man".

fied by the three Blacksmiths and by R. B. Jones, the iron supplier, in Neosho, Missouri. A. W. Williamson, postmaster of Dadeville, Missouri stated that: "Rains embezzled the Reverend Mr. Patterson out of $300." Again in 1859 Mr. Williamson stated: "Rains is a Democrat of the deeper dye—now and for the last four years a know nothing and is now a member of the State Senate of Missouri—is a public peculator, private swindler, political upstart and trickster." Agent Rains's best service to the Indians was the compilation of a census of the three Indian tribes. His census reveals valuable statistics and shows how each family head made a living. It shows what they produced and gave a general summation of their habits. Most family heads earned their living by hunting or agriculture.

On May 18, 1848, Agent Rains was transferred to the Kansas Agency, and was replaced with Burton A. James, age forty-one, from Kentucky. Mr. James, as former Agent Rains had previously done, discharged most of the presiding government employees and hired new ones. The discharged employees retaliated by preferring a number of severe charges against Mr. James. The charges were murder, peculation of public funds, ineptness of duty, and drinking with the Indian youth. Nevertheless, for all this adverse criticism and his short time in office, Mr. James seems to have done much to put the business of the Agency back into good order. The Seneca's grist mill had been neglected and the new miller made extensive repairs and put it back into working order.

Agent James felt that he should hire the eligible Indians of the various Indian Tribes to fill the available government jobs within the Agency. In accordance, on July 8, 1848, he hired Samuel G. Vallier, age 21 and the son of Joseph Vallier, as assistant blacksmith. That year, Crawford Seminary was moved four miles north to a new site and Agent James wished to also remove the Quapaw blacksmith shop to the new site. This proposal was opposed by the Quapaw Chiefs, so the matter lay dormant. On August 22, 1848, Agent James stated that $100 was needed to repair the Agency house. In his request to Commissioner Medill, he stated: "The clapboard roof is nearly gone and let rain in the house at the payment yesterday. The doors are bad, not more than one can be shut and not a lock or bolt upon the first one. The house is underpined with logs and they are decaying which will, if not remedied be a total loss of the whole building."

Several of the citizens of Missouri coveted the lands held by these three Indian Tribes and often petitioned the Federal and Missouri governments to purchase them. By the first of

1849, the Missouri newspapers had begun to run, editorials, on the proposition. The newspaper articles attracted considerable attention, but did not convince the Indian Department of the advisability of the proposal.[17]

Agent James resigned in the spring of 1849, and on March 31, 1849, Andrew Jackson Dorn, who then resided in St. Louis, Missouri, was named to replace him. Agent Dorn wished to have a hewed log building erected near his Agency. The building was proposed to be 20 feet by 28 feet, two stories high and so constructed so as to be suitable for a stable, crib and carriage house. The Reverend Mr. Patterson estimated the cost of such a building would be $150, but the Indian Department refused to act on this suggestion.

On November 2, 1849, Agent Dorn was notified by Superintendent Rutherford, that the Osage Tribe of Indians in Kansas would be placed under the control of the Neosho Agency. The additional work required to transact the business of the Osages, doubled the work load for the Agent and his pay was accordingly increased to $1,000 per annum. Agent Dorn made his first annuity payment to the Osages on February 1, 1850. While returning from the Osage lands, he had the misfortune of having his carriage overturned and swept down stream by the swollen waters of Lost Creek.[18] Following this accident, Mr. Dorn contracted typhoid fever and for awhile was apparently near death. He attributed the cause of his illness to the cold dip in Lost Creek.

Agent Dorn greatly respected the Quapaw Chief, Joseph Vallier, and recommended to the Indian Department in Washington, that he be presented a Chief's coat and a medal for good conduct. Dorn stated: "He is devoted to his people and sets a splendid example in which to live. He is a supporter of schools and advises his people not to drink."[19]

On November 18, 1850, Agent Dorn granted a license to George W. Mosely, to trade with the Senecas near the mouth of Cowskin River (Turkey Ford). Mr. Mosely lived in

[17]*Springfield Adventurer,* January 9, 1849. The citizens of Missouri were especially interested in gaining access to the Neosho and Grand Rivers. They were hopeful that these streams would be navigable for steamboats on which they could haul their produce to the eastern markets. *The Adventurer,* expressed the opinion that a town would soon grow near the mouth of Spring and Neosho Rivers.

[18]Neosho Agency: Dorn to Orlando Brown, Commissioner of Indian Affairs March 9, 1850. The annuity payments were made in coin and Agent Dorn was able to regain four bags of coins, that were swept downstream with the overturned carriage. However, he lost his clothing and all his valuable papers and receipts.

[19]*Ibid.* Dorn to Orlando Brown, June 4, 1850.

Neosho, Missouri, and hired Andrew J. Gilstrap to operate the trading house.[20] In 1854, Mr. Gilstrap was granted a license to establish his own trading house near the mouth of Agency Creek (Sycamore Creek). A partial list of Mr. Mosely's stock of goods included: castor oil, cayenne pepper, sweet pickles, Cook's Pills, quinine, A & B Liniment, Jone's Tonic Villifier, 1 keg of indigo, 1 box of stone pipes, pepper sauce, buckets, black powder, 50 lbs. coffee sacks, hickory shirting, denim, blankets, pins, ribbon, side saddles, and ox whips.

Agent Dorn was well liked by the Indians and was an efficient Indian Agent, but was dismissed from office on June 30, 1851. The next day, Doctor William J. J. Morrow from Tennessee, was appointed to replace him. Doctor Morrow was very interested in the Tennessee and Federal political situation and several of his well written letters were sent to members of those governing bodies. When the Indian Department in Washington failed to comply with his suggestions, he sometimes appealed to his friends in Congress to help promote his interests. Although the condition of the Agency buildings was described as, "nearly perfect," he demanded that new ones be erected one mile north of the Crawford Seminary. The following, is an excerpt from a letter he sent to Commissioner Luke Lea:[21]

> This would remove me north of my present residence some 20 miles, and would be about one day's journey from the old Osage Sub-Agency; and would be near the center of all the Tribes embraced within my Agency as it could be located — At the same time, I would have a much more desirable location than either of the old Sub-Agencies would be. As I am at present located, my Post Office is distant from me about 14 miles (Elk Mills, Missouri) — Should my request be granted, I would have a Post Office within one mile of me. I estimate that comfortable buildings can be erected for the sum of $2500.

The Treasury Department in Washington denied funds to the Indian Department to erect a new Agency building. Indeed, by October 5, 1854, the Treasury Department had allowed no funds to the Indian Department to pay for the erection of the existing Neosho Agency buildings.[22] Crawford

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[20]*Ibid.* Dorn to Commissioner, Luke Lea, November 18, 1850. On August 29, 1854, Mr. Gilstrap was granted a license to trade with the Seneca Indians at the mouth of Agency Creek (Sycamore Creek). His trading house was still in operation there at the beginning of the Civil War. The ford across Grand River, near his trading post was named in his honor.

[21]Southern Superintendency: Superintendent John Drennan to Commissioner, Luke Lea, August 11, 1851. The site proposed for the new Agency was located near the mouth of Five Mile Creek.

[22]Neosho Agency. D. Clayton, Second Auditor, Treasury Department to Commissioner, Charles E. Mix, October 5, 1854. It was not made clear as to whether or how Mr. Daniels was paid for erecting

Seminary was closed as a Quapaw Indian School in February 1852, when the Reverend Mr. Patterson left and did not name a successor. Agent Morrow immediately took possession of the vacant school buildings and moved his wife and children into a building adjacent to the one he chose as an Agency office.[23] Dr. Morrow resigned his Agency duties in the spring of 1853, and moved to Neosho, Missouri. He purchased a grist mill not far from there and made bids on the various Indian subsistence contracts, to furnish them with flour and meal.

A much delayed letter from Indian Commissioner, Charles E. Mix, reached Andrew J. Dorn at Sparlinsville, Newton County, Missouri, on June 1, 1853 and thereby reappointed him as Neosho Agent.[24] In 1855, Agent Dorn was provided with an iron safe in which to store his papers and the public funds. The safe was especially needed since his official business required him to travel a great deal and this consequently left his agency exposed to intruders. Mr. Dorn stated: "besides running great risks in the fall of the year of having our Agencies destroyed by fire, it being a constant custom among the Indians to set fire to the woods and prairies when the grass becomes dry during the autumn of the year."

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the Agency buildings on Sycamore Creek. That he did receive pay for erecting the Agency buildings is almost certain, since he corresponded regularly with the Indian Department, but made no complaint of not being paid. The Indian Chiefs often complained that some of the funds appropriated for various Indian uses never reached their hands.

[23]Crawford Seminary was by far the most difficult of the Neosho Agency sites to discover. A dissertation covering the discovery of this site alone, could cover a paper more lengthy than this one given here. A total of 18 letters were found relative to the location of this site. If viewed separately, not one of these letters reveal enough information to enable one to definitely establish this location; however a correlation of this correspondence, plus an intimate knowledge of the surrounding terrain, leaves no doubt as to its exact location. This correspondence was found in letters received by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, from two Indian Agencies and three Indian Superintendencies. The published, "Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," were helpful but inconclusive in their reference to this subject.

The site is situated at the edge of Patterson Prairie, (obviously named in honor of the Reverend Mr. Patterson) near the head of Little Five Mile Creek, and near a perpetual spring of water that supplies much of the water for this creek. The official location of the site is in the SW¼ of the NW¼ of section 25, Township 29 North and Range 24 East, on property now owned by Mr. Harry Johnson.

[24]Neosho Agency: Commissioner Mix to Dorn, May 21, 1853. Mr. Dorn's address was, P.O. Neosho, Missouri. He was originally from New York, where he entered the army in 1846 as a First Lieutenant of Clark's Battalion of Missouri volunteers. He was honorably discharged July 21, 1848.

In 1855, the so-called "New York Indians" composed of portions of the Seneca, Tuscarora, Oneida, St. Regis, Onondaga and Cayuga Tribes of Indians, in conjunction with several members of the Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brotherton Tribes of Indians, were officially placed under the jurisdiction of the Neosho Agency. Some members of these Indian Tribes had reached their newly assigned lands in Kansas by October 5, 1837. The Osage River Agent, voluntarily handled the necessary business arrangements for these Indians for awhile, but withdrew most of this assistance when his salary was not increased to meet the added work load. Until assigned to the Neosho Agency, they were generally without an Agent and were left to their own initiative in a strange and hostile land. Their main settlement was a short distance north of Fort Scott, Kansas, and this distance from the Quapaw Nation was a tremendous handicap to their Agent. These were the years preceding the Civil War that murder and arson was common in that portion of Kansas. The white settlers ignored the rights of these Indians to their lands and squatted there with impunity. The whites badgered and subjected the Indians to constant humiliations and thereby caused several to flee to the lands of the Senecas for protection. They made numerous complaints to Agent Dorn concerning the neglect of the U. S. Government to provide the funds promised to them in their Treaty, and of the many outrages committed by the white settlers among them. Of one typical outrage, Agent Dorn wrote:[25]

Major Elias Rector

Crawford Seminary
August 9, 1859

Sir: Mrs. King, widow of William King deceased, late head Chief of the New York Indians and who resided on the New York lands in Kansas until his death, and upon the same place where the widow has resided since her husband's death, has just arrived here with her family and informs me that on the night of the 30th. of last month, several men came to her house, who reside or stay on the New York land on the Little Osage River, fired off some guns, and came upon the porch of her house and demanded entrance. She refused to let them enter, and they then warned her that she must leave in three days or they would kill her, after which they left, taking her saddle and a new riding skirt. The same night, the house and all the furniture and clothing belonging to the widow of Gideon Williams was set fire to and burned to the ground, and the roof of the house of the widow of Captain Moonhouse was torn off and the chimney thrown down.

She came to me for protection and it is out of my power to render her any assistance as things are situated in that country. It is the hot bed of all the Jay Hawkers or murderers and robbers of southern Kansas and they are not few in numbers I can advise you. I have endeavored to protect these Indians, but complaint after

[25]*Ibid.* Dorn to Elias Rector, Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency, August 9, 1859.

complaint has reached me and I have reported their situation again and again —

On June 3, 1856, Agent Dorn compiled a census of the Senecas in which he gave only the name of the heads of each family and the number in each. According to Mr. Dorn there were forty Seneca families, with a total enrollment of 254 persons. There were 18 persons in the family of Widow Young; 12 in Little Town Spicer's; 6 in Small Cloud Spicer's; 6 in George Spicer's; 12 in John Winney's; 4 in Sam Armstrong's; 7 in Seneca Armstrong's; 9 in William Johnson's; and 12 each in the families of George Weaver, George Douglass, and Yanky Bill.

The white intruders on the lands of the Osage Indians, in Kansas, caused much trouble and confusion among the Indians. The whites not only encroached on the Osage lands, but committed murder, stole their horses, sold them whiskey and corrupted their youth. The Osages retaliated by stealing some of the white owners' livestock, which brought howls of protest from the owners. By 1858, the situation had deteriorated to such a degree that Agent Dorn felt it was unsafe to travel alone through the Osage lands. He made numerous requests to the Indian Department in Washington to furnish him an armed escort, to assist in making the annuity payments to the Indians in Kansas but this request was never honored. His salary had by now been increased to $1,400 per annum.

The Reverend Mr. Patterson first established a post office at Crawford Seminary in 1848, the first post office established within the present limits of Ottawa County. Agent Dorn continued to act as Postmaster there during his tenure in office, and gave as his address:[26] Andrew J. Dorn, U. S. Neosho Agent, Crawford Seminary, Quapaw Nation (or West of Arkansas not Missouri).

In July 1858, the Agent requested $300 with which to make repairs on the Agency buildings, and further stated:

> I trust that a draft for $300 will be presented me in order that I may be enabled to have such necessary repairs and improvements made upon the Agency buildings and enclosures surrounding them this coming fall, as will render them convenient and comfortable for another winter.
>
> I trust this small repairs will be granted, for at best an officer in this Indian Country with his family, experience but few of the common comforts of this world, isolated as they necessarily must be.

On May 10, 1856, according to his instructions from Commissioner Manypenny, Agent Dorn called the Osage Chiefs

[26] *Ibid.* Dorn to Mix, March 1, 1858.

together at his Agency to make a new treaty.[27] In the proposed new treaty, the U.S. government hoped to induce the Osages to exchange their lands in Kansas for lands in the present State of Oklahoma. A majority of the Osage Chiefs were in favor of the land exchange. However the approval of the treaty was thwarted by a white man, Michelle Giraud and his brother-in-law, War Eagle. War Eagle, Councellor of White Hair's Band, belligerently made threats on the lives of some of the other Chiefs if the treaty was approved. Agent Dorn then closed the meeting to prevent possibility of bloodshed.[28]

Specimens of lead deposits had been found on the lands of the Seneca-Shawnees and Quapaws at a very early date. On October 3, 1860, Agent Dorn sent a formal request of his own plus the request of the Seneca-Shawnees to the Indian Department. Agent Dorn's request is hereby given, followed by that of the Seneca and Shawnee Chiefs:[29]

> I recommend that a responsible Company be permitted to test the grounds in the Seneca and Shawnee Nation, as to there being mineral in said lands, and should mineral be found, that said Company be permitted to work the mines under such regulations as you shall direct — My impression is that valuable lead deposits — are on their reserve, and also the Quapaw reserve, and if found to be so, it will be of great advantage to them in a pecuniary point of views, and I know of no people that it would benefit more than them, and more particularly the Quapaws. . . .

> Sir: We the undersigned Chiefs of the Seneca and Shawnee Tribe of Indians would most respectfully represent that we are quite certain that there are valuable mineral deposits — within our reserve, and we have to ask that you permit us to lease to a responsible Company or Companies, one, two or more sections of our reserve in order that said mineral may be raised and thereby be of some advantage to our people. — The lands where the mineral is supposed to be is wholely valueless to us on account of it being covered with rocks, and little scrubby black-jack timber. . . .

Agent Dorn greatly regretted the outcome of the Presidential election in the fall of 1860. Realizing that he would probably be replaced by an agent favorable to the Republican doctrine when Mr. Lincoln took his oath of office, he attempted to secure for the Indians under his charge all the moneys due them. He asked Commissioner Greenwood to help him secure for the Seneca-Shawnees the $6,000 they had loaned to the State of Kentucky. He also asked for an appropriation of $2,000 to help the destitute Quapaws through the winter. He was well aware of the turbulent

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[27]Letters Sent. Letter Book, 53:189. Commissioner Manypenny to Dorn, February 20, 1856.

[28]Dorn to Manypenny, May 15, 1856, *op. cit.*

[29]*Ibid.* Dorn to Mix, October 3, 1860.

state of affairs in Missouri and Kansas when he wrote Commissioner Greenwood:[30]

November 23, 1860

Dear Judge: The election is over and the result is now known as who is to be the head of the next administration and it is to be regretted by all the true friends of our glorious Country — I fear for the results that is to follow — But to the point; now that Lincoln is elected I wish to be ordered to Washington in order to have my files settled and many other matters carried out for the Indians which is of great interest to our people. We of Arkansas and Missouri cannot expect many favors from the Black Republicans and I would like while we have it in our hands to have all that can be done for our neighboring Indians accomplished this winter and early next spring. . . .

In April 1861, Agent Dorn packed his household goods and moved his family to Neosho, Missouri. The majority of the presiding Indian agents within the present boundaries of Oklahoma were favorable to secession of the Southern States. Mr. Dorn was among those Agents favorable to secession, and spent much of his time preceding the outbreak of hostilities in conference with those agents and Southern Superintendent Elias Rector who was also a seccessionist.

Peter P. Elder was appointed Neosho Agent, on May 27, 1861. He arrived at Crawford Seminary, on June 6, 1861, and found former Agent Dorn absent. Mr. Dorn arrived at the Agency on June 15, 1861, and handed Agent Elder the key to the iron safe containing the Agency papers. William G. Coffin was appointed Superintendent of the Southern Superintendency on May 21, 1861. The Southern Superintendency facilities at Fort Smith, Arkansas were now in Confederate hands and Mr. Coffin was obliged to make his temporary headquarters at various posts in Kansas. Superintendent Coffin, (described by scholars as illiterate) was a man of boundless energy and courage. His letters to Commissioner Dole in Washington were usually written while on field trips and seldom from his office. He placed his life in jeopardy when he visited the Crawford Seminary on June 19, 1861, and reported:[31]

Crawford Seminary, Indian Terr.
June 19th 1861

Honorable W. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Dear Sir: We have at length reached the Indian Territory propper and have found it a long trip, tedious and not all together as comfortable as it might be I find Mr. Elder the Agent absent I learn and say way down here that he had gone to Fort Scott with the view of locating the Agency there for the present which I suposed when I wrote you from the Catholic Mission might be propper from its close proximity to Missouri but as Mr. Phelps district is appusit

[30]*Ibid.* Dorn to Greenwood, November 23, 1860.

[31]Southern Superintendency. W. G. Coffin to Commissioner William P. Dole, June 19, 1861.

here and he a good Union man and he has been stumping the district too. I learn that the Union causes gaining fast in that part of the State I think there is now at least no sort of excuse for removing the buildings here are ample for a large family water good and every thing convenient and a most beautiful location and one at which I could be perfectly content to live in every respect but Society and that an Indian Agent that lives, with of amongst them could expect they have a blacksmith here his shop and tools are poor tho I sapose from the amount of work he has to doo they are suficent the Farmer here I think might be dispensed with without detriment to the Indians or the govt. he cultivates about 24 acres of grain and the Agent gets the products he Stocks some plows but this might be done and all that he does for the Indians might be done by the Smith and then occuuy him but a small part of his time all of which is Respectfully Submitted

W. G. Coffin
Supt. Southern Suptendency

Agent Elder's following letter summarizes the general chaotic situation at Crawford Seminary, near the outbreak of the war:[32]

Office of Neosho Agency, Fort Scott
July 27, 1861

Sir:

I deem it important to inform the department of the situation of this Agency at this time. After entering upon the duties of this office as per instructions — and attending to all the business that seemed to require my immediate attention — I repaired to Franklin County, Kansas, to remove my family to the Agency.

Leaving the Agency in care of James Killebrew Esquire, the government farmer for the Quawpaw Nation. Soon after I left I was informed by him that the Agency had been surrounded by a band of armed men, and instituted an inquiry for "that abolition Superintendent and Agent". After various interogatories and answers they returned in the direction of Missouri and Arkansas lines from whence they were supposed to have come. He has since written me, and Special Agent Whitney and Superintendent Coffin told me that it would be very unsafe for me to stay at that place under the present excited state of public feeling in that vicinity. I however started with my family on the 6th. July and arrived at Fort Scott on the 9th. intending to go direct to the Agency. Here I learned from Captain Jimmerson, Commanding a detachment of Kansas militia, who had been scouting in that vicinity — that the country was full of marauding parties from Governor Jackson's Camp in Southwest Missouri. (at Elk Mills, Missouri, near Cowskin Prairie, Indian Territory). I therefore concluded to remain here and watch the course of events, believing as I did that the Federal troops would soon repair thither and so quell the rebellion as to render my stay here no longer necessary. But as yet the Union forces have not penetrated that far south, and Jackson with a large force is quartered within 20 or 25 miles of the Agency — I was informed by Mr. Killebrew on the 23rd instant that everything at the Agency was safe — but the house and roads were guarded. Hence I have assumed the responsibility of establishing my office here temporarily, until I can hear from the Department.

And I most sincerely hope the course I have thus been com-

[32]Central Superintendency. 'Agent Elder to Superintendent Branch, July 27, 1861. Superintendent Branch forwarded Mr. Elder's letter to Commissioner Dole.

pelled to pursue will receive the approval of the department. I desire instructions relative to the papers and a valuable safe — (being the only valuable movables there of value) which can only be moved at present under the protection of a guard. And also instructions as to the course I am to pursue relative to the locality of the Agency.

I feel confident that the difficulty now attending the locality of Crawford Seminary will not continue long — if not then I shall move directly there unless instructions arrive of a different character. All mail matter should be directed to Fort Scott for the mail Carrier has been repeatedly arrested — and the mails may be robbed —

H. B. Branch, Supt. Ind. Aff.
Central Superintendency
St. Joseph, Missouri

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
Peter P. Elder, U.S. Agent

Former Agent Dorn, used his influence to help persuade the Senecas, Quapaws and Seneca-Shawnees to enter into a treaty, thereby uniting them with the Confederate States of America. On October 4, 1861, the Chiefs of these three Indian Tribes met with the Confederate Commissioner, Albert Pike, at Park Hill, Indian Territory and signed the treaty which bound them to the Confederate cause.[33] In January, 1862, these three Indian Tribes drew an annuity payment in gold and silver from the Confederate States which later impelled the United States Government to accuse them of treason. These unfortunate people were soon robbed of their possessions and bullied by the Bushwhackers and Rebels from Missouri and Arkansas. By March 24, 1862, one-half of the Quapaw Tribe was at Leroy, Kansas and the other half at Fort Roe, Kansas.[33a] The Senecas packed what few possessions they could carry and escaped from the Rebels under cover of darkness into Kansas. The Senecas and Quapaws camped during the remainder of the war near Ohio City, Kansas, on the Ottawa Reservation.[34] They were subsisted by the U.S. Government and on February 18, 1865, they were delivered $11,395.59 worth of supplies by contractors Carney & Stevens. Nearly every able bodied man of these Indian tribes served in the United States army during the war.

In the spring and summer of 1862, the Federal army penetrated the Confederate held Indian Territory as far

[33]Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series 4, Volume 1, pp. 647-658. Lewis Davis, Interpreter for the Seneca-Shawnees acted as Principal Chief for that tribe of Indians in this treaty, and affixed his signature to the document. Mr. Davis was a granduncle of Mr. Barney Armstrong, presently of this County, who stated that Mr. Davis was accused of treason and imprisoned by the Federal authorities at Fort Leavenworth for a short time for this action.

[33a]. The name "Fort Roe" carried on the maps of Kansas arose from the original name "Post Roe," an early day trading post at the site in the Elk River region. — Ed.

[34]Southern Superintendency: Coffin to Dole, April 26, 1864. Neosho Agency. Elder to Coffin, April 26, 1864.

south as Fort Gibson. Agent Elder accompanied the Federal army as far south as Crawford Seminary. While there, on June 22, 1862, he reported:

> As soon as the forces moved below I went to the Quapaws and Seneca-Shawnee Country and while there was constantly engaged, much more being required of me than I could possibly perform. Some of my services were very unpleasant — to wit — to prevent the Federal soldiers from stealing and plundering the Indians of all they had and in getting back what they had already plundered from them. I have been there for the past ten days looking after their interests generally.
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> The Indians have been placed in a peculiar situation — But almost to a man have been loyal. They have moved back from their country behind the army and I shall get them home again in the course of a week or two, and the loyal employees, I shall pay in accordance with the instructions on that subject from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Poor management of the Federal army by its officers, and the threat of an attack by a superior Confederate force in Arkansas, soon caused the Federals to retreat to Kansas. In its retrograde movement back to Kansas, the Federal army again passed through the lands of the Senecas, Quapaws and Seneca-Shawnees. This time the Federal army nearly completed the destruction of the Indian properties. They burned most of their homes (reportedly, to prevent their use by the Confederates) and carried off all of their remaining portable resources. When this was done, Agent Elder retired to Fort Scott, Kansas, where he established the Neosho Agency, and remained until the end of the war.

George C. Snow was appointed Neosho Agent, March 23, 1865. Accompanied by an armed escort of fifty Indian soldiers, he reached Tar Springs (head of Tar Creek) on Quapaw lands on June 8, 1865. He reported that Crawford Seminary had burned of natural causes one month previous to his visit. He also reported that he believed petroleum existed near Tar Springs. He was appalled at the wanton destruction wrought on the Indian property by the Confederates and Federals alike, and recommended to the Indian Department in Washington that the Indians should be compensated for their war losses.

In January 1865, the Quapaws were appropriated $9726.33 to defray the expenses of removing them from the Ottawa Reservation in Kansas to their own lands. On January 7, 1865, the Quapaw Chiefs complained to Commissioner Dole in Washington, that this money was being held against their wishes by their attorney, Perry Fuller.[35]

Agent Snow was still in charge of the Osage Indians

[35] *Ibid.* S. G. Vallier, Quapaw Interpreter to Dole, January 7, 1865 Agent Snow to Cooley, December 8, 1865.

and the New York Indians. To be near them, he made his home at Neosho Falls and Baldwin City, Kansas. The Senecas, Quapaws and Seneca-Shawnees were assigned a Special Agent, George Mitchell, to assist them in the period of reconstruction. Special Agent Mitchell resided among these Indians until July 1, 1871.

On the Seneca-Shawnee lands, one small village, Shawnee Town, was relatively untouched by the ravages of the Civil War. In 1865, Special Agent Mitchell rented the home of the Seneca-Shawnee Interpreter, Lewis Davis to use as an Agency. The home was located in the midst of the Shawnee settlement, and the U.S. Government paid $96 per year for its use. Mr. Davis died March 5, 1868, and his widow offered to sell the home and the land improvements to the Government to be used as a permanent Agency home. Mrs. Davis asked $1,500 for the property and Agent Snow and Special Agent Mitchell were anxious that the Indian Department in Washington should accept the offer. On March 25, 1869, Mrs. Davis gave a deed of the property to Superintendent Murphy. The following is an excerpt from a letter written by Agent Snow to Superintendent Murphy, describing the property:[36]

> These improvements consists of a double hewn logue house — three large rooms below, two good fire places — well painted with lime mortar and white washed, new shingle roof, an out seller — logue smokehouse, three corn houses — lumber house — stables. Blacksmith shop, two houses for blacksmith and assistant to live in.
>
> Forty five acres of good cultivating land with a good new rail fence around and line fence through horse and cow lots, etc, etc. As these buildings will do for a permanent Agency and are very cheap, I would respectfully request that they be bought for that purpose.

Neosho Agent Snow's term in office ended on June 30, 1869, and Isaac T. Gibson was named to succeed him. Agent Gibson, as former Agent Snow had done, resided in Kansas so as to be near the Indians there under his jurisdiction. On July 1, 1871, the name, "Neosho Agency" was changed to "Quapaw Agency" and on the same day, Hiram W. Jones, was appointed to be the sole Quapaw Agent. This Agency was now shorn of the greater part of its duty to the Kansas Indians and once again governed only those Indian tribes located in the northeast corner of the present State of Oklahoma, exclusive of the Cherokees. In the treaty made February 23, 1867, the United States Commissioners induced

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[36]Central Superintendency: Superintendent Thomas Murphy to Commissioner Nathaniel G. Taylor, March 25, 1869. $900 was paid to Mrs. Davis at the time of the purchase and the remaining $600 was paid at the rate of $8 per month. The site was situated in the NW¼ of the SE¼ of section 12, Township 27 North and Range 24 East on property presently owned by Mr. Buck Killough.

the Senecas, Quapaws, and Seneca-Shawnees to relinquish a portion of their lands to make room for the Wyandotte, Ottawa, Miami, Peoria, Wea, Kaskaskia, and Piankeshaw tribes of Indians. Agent Jones, during his term in office, lived in the log Agency buildings located on the lands of the Shawnees and a few years later, a new wood-frame Agency house was erected about one-eighth of a mile south. This frame building, which was used as an Indian Agency until 1901, is now surrounded by additional rooms.

In 1870, the United States Government instituted a program to help educate the Indian children. On July 3, 1870, a day school was opened for the Ottawa Indians, and in 1872, a boarding school was established for the Quapaws. In 1871, J. H. Blackwood, from Baxter Springs, Kansas, erected a school house for the Peoria's, for the sum of $409.00, and a boarding school was opened in 1871, for the Senecas, Wyandottes, and Shawnees.

The merchants in the small border state towns of Baxter Springs, Kansas, and of Seneca, Missouri, competed for the subsistence contracts for the Indians under the Quapaw Agency. Merchant J. G. McGannon of Seneca, Missouri, won his first such contract on October 15, 1875, and a few weeks later, George W. Eyestone, of Baxter Springs, Kansas, won a similar contract.[37] The other merchants of the two towns also did a flourishing business in selling their products to the individual Indian customers. While the majority of the residents of the border state towns approved the conduct of the Indians, a few voices were raised against them. The Postmaster at Seneca, Missouri, Smith Nichols, complained that the Modoc Indians entered town with their bows and arrows and shot at the farmer's hogs and chickens. Mr. Nichols' complaint was unpopular with many of the residents of the town, and several signed a petition praising the conduct of the Modocs.

A few scattered Indian tribes in Kansas remained under the jurisdiction of the Neosho Agency until 1875, at which time it ceased to exist. Its passing was not mourned by the Indians for it had governed them at a trying time in the history of their lives. The establishment of the Quapaw Agency ushered in a period of history more promising to the welfare of these people. Where the business of the Quapaw Agency was orderly and efficiently supervised, that for the Neosho Agency was sometimes slovenly and haphazardly conducted. The records of the Quapaw Agency

[37]Quapaw Agency: J. G. McGannon to Agent Hiram Jones, October 5, 1875.

were also well preserved, whereas those of the Neosho Agency were not. The records of the Quapaw Agency for the years 1876-1880, number twice as many as those of the Neosho Agency for all the years it was in existence.[38]

[38]Registers of Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880.

AN ACCOUNT OF MY ESCAPE FROM THE SOUTH IN 1861

By John Edwards

Introduction

The manuscript of "An account of my escape from the South in 1861" was written by the Reverend John Edwards about 1902, after leaving Wheelock Mission where he had lived for about ten years since his return to his missionary labors among the Choctaws in 1883, under the Presbyterian Board of Missions. A first copy of this manuscript was given the Editor many years ago by the late Edmond J. Gardner of Valliant, Oklahoma, to be used in her historical research, and has lain away among her historical notes with the hope that it might be published. A number of persons both Indian and white in the Choctaw mission field who had lived in this country during the Civil War and Reconstruction days and were still living in Southeastern Oklahoma as late as the 1920's were familiar with this "Account" by Mr. Edwards. Their reaction to his story of his experiences when he fled the Choctaw Nation in 1861 was voiced by a writer living at Goodland, familiar with much of the history and about the people of this region when she remarked to the Editor, "Mr. Edward's story? It just would not do to print!"

It is now 100 years since the end of the American Civil War, the centennial of the events of the great conflict having been commemorated during the past four years in the historical field of the United States by a surge of published materials—books, articles, diaries and reminiscences of the period—as well as by commemorative programs and pageantry at outstanding historic sites, relating to the War. People throughout this country have been enlightened during the Centennial Commemorative period, having learned more about the personalities that had a leading part in the War as well as its problems and the living conditions endured, especially in the Southland. These things prompt the publication of the "Account" by Mr. Edwards as now due. Readers of this here in *The Chronicles* will catch something of the humor of the predicament into which he was forced in 1861, down around Doaksville, Fort Towson and Wheelock as he tells his story. Another comment may be added here: The title given by Mr. Edwards—"An Account of *My* Escape from the South"—implies an element of heroics in his story. Truly, his "Account" reveals Mrs. Edwards in the role of the

real *hero* who managed the situation and made the "escape" of the whole family possible!

John Edwards was born at Bath, Steuben County, New York on January 21, 1828. He graduated from Princeton College, New Jersey in 1848, and from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1851. He began his service as a missionary teacher at Spencer Academy, Choctaw Nation, some months later, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board. He became Superintendent of Wheelock Seminary for Choctaw girls in 1853, after the death of the Superintendent, the Reverend Dr. Alfred Wright who had served as a missionary among the Choctaws since 1821, back in Mississippi. Mr. and Mrs. Edwards resided in California for twenty-one years after leaving the Indian Territory, before their return to this Choctaw mission in 1883. The family left the Indian Territory about 1894, the death of Mr. Edwards reported from California some years later.

John Edwards had made a study of the Choctaw language, his translation of the second Book of Kings published by the American Bible Society in 1855. He collaborated with the Reverend Cyrus Byington in collecting data on "Terms of Relationship of the Chocta (Chätä)" which were incorporated in L. H. Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity of the Human Family* (Washington, 1871). The manuscript of a lecture by Mr. Edwards on the origin, manners and customs of the Choctaws (1887), which was delivered before interested audiences at different times, was sent among other manuscripts of his to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1929, by members of his family. This lecture was published in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932) with annotations by John R. Swanton, Smithsonian Institution, through the interest of the late Dr. Grant Foreman, Member of the Board of Directors of the Historical Society at the time.

The account of Mr. Edward's "Escape from the South in 1861" is here presented directly from the manuscript. Some paragraphing has been made for clearness, and editorial notes are added.

—*Muriel H. Wright, Editor*

MY ESCAPE IN 1861

By John Edwards

From 1851 to 1861 I was a missionary among the Choctaw Indians, located in the Southeastern part of the Indian Territory. The first two years were spent at old Spencer Academy,[1] about ten miles Northwest of Doaksville, near the old Military Road from Fort Towson to Fort Smith. The remaining eight years we were at Wheelock,[2] which was eighteen miles east from Doaksville,[3] thirty miles north of Clarksville, Texas, and thirty-five miles west of the Arkansas line.

Slavery existed to some extent among the Choctaws. About twenty-five hundred negroes were held in bondage among them. The Choctaws dwelling in their country west of Arkansas numbered about eighteen thousand.

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[1]The site of old Spencer Academy is north of Sawyer in Choctaw County, about nine miles. It was the noted school for boys in the Choctaw Nation West, established by a special Committee of Choctaws in 1841, and named for John C. Spencer, Secretary of War. Dormitories, school rooms (4 substantial, two-story log buildings), dining room and kitchen, housing for employees, outbuildings, barns, etc., were completed and the school opened to the first students in January, 1844. A hospital and detachments of Confederate Indian troops were located here during the Civil War, after the closing of the school in 1861. The buildings had some repairs and the Academy was re-opened at old Spencer in 1870. It was abandoned with the opening of New Spencer Academy about 7 miles northeast of Soper, Choctaw County in 1883.

[2]Wheelock mission and school was established in December, 1832 by the Rev. Alfred Wright and his wife (Harriet Bunce Wright), missionaries of the American Board (ABCFM) who came with some of the first parties of Choctaws from Mississippi during the Indian removal to the West (1830-1842). In 1842, the Choctaw General Council designated Wheelock as a seminary for Choctaw girls. The stone church at Wheelock (about 2 miles north of Millerton, McCurtain County), erected and dedicated in 1846 through the work of Rev. Alfred Wright and members of the congregation, stands on its original site near the ground of Wheelock Academy, the oldest church building in Oklahoma.

[3]Doaksville, site located on the northwest side of the town of Ft. Towson, in Choctaw County, began as a village at the time of the re-establishment and rebuilding of Fort Towson in 1831. It was named for Josiah Doak, a white trader from Mississippi associated in the trading business with Chief Greenwood LeFlore who established his interests in the west though he remained in Mississippi after the Choctaw removal to their new country west. Doaksville was an important town in the Red River region of the Choctaw Nation, and was the capital of the Nation from 1860 to 1863. It was the headquarters of the commanders of the Confederate Army (Indian and white troops) at different times during the late years of the Civil War. Many important Choctaw conventions and meetings of the General Council were held at Doaksville from 1850 through 1865.

My sentiments on the subject of slavery were such that I could not live among them without giving offense. While esteeming it an undesirable institution, and therefore not to be perpetrated, and disapproving many of the laws connected with the system, and many of the proceedings under it, yet I did not deem it necessarily a sin to hold slaves. It seemed to me that the possession of the amount of power over a fellow man conferred by it was not in itself wrong. All depended upon the way in which that power was used. It might be of benefit to both servant and master. But it was very liable to abuse, and was in fact often greatly abused. I never deemed myself fit to be a master. I would be altogether too easy. So I had no disposition to buy a slave even if I had had the means to do so.

With these views I had no hesitation in receiving masters as well as servants to the communion of the church. I also hired slaves as necessity required. They were glad to be hired by the missionaries.

I suppose that, in the War which was beginning in 1861, ministers would be regarded as non-combatants by both sides, and that they would not be expected to take up arms. So my expectation was to go quietly on with my work for the spiritual, as well as temporal good of the Choctaw people, and of others dwelling among them. My idea was that at sometime in the future, perhaps a hundred years hence, God, in His providence, would have the slaves prepared in some better measure for freedom, and that then, perhaps by making the system unprofitable, He would bring it to an end. But His plans were quite different from mine, as events showed.

An unmarried missionary named Wentz had been first a teacher in the Creek Nation, and afterwards at Spencer Academy.[4] In the summer of 1860 he had gone where his parents lived in the state of New York, under an engagement with his brother, each to put in $300.00, and so buy their aged parents a home. The brother failed to fulfill his part of the arrangement. The question with Mr. Wentz was then how he could best make up the necessary amount himself.

That year he was appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions to be Superintendent of Iyanubi Female Seminary,

[4]The Rev. H. A. Wentz was in charge of the "middle department" of the boys at Spencer; the "primary department" in charge of Mr. Robert J. Young; the "highest department," in charge of the Rev. Sheldon Jackson. The Rev. Alexander Reid was Superintendent of the Academy, the whole teaching staff serving under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Missions.

a boarding school of twenty girls supported principally by the Choctaw Nation, and in small part by the Board.[5] He was fond of machinery. While at Cincinnati, on his way back to the Choctaw country, meditating, as he constantly was, on the question that was before him as to his parents he passed a gun store. It flashed upon him that revolvers would sell well in the Nation. So he invested his $300.00 in revolving pistols and carbines, put them in his trunk, put on a Bell and Evertt Medal, and made the trip to his new home. He put most of them in the hands of Mr. John P. Kingsbury,[6] a merchant at Doaksville, to sell for him but kept a few to dispose of himself. He concealed the matter from the rest of the missionaries, as far as he could.

In the late winter (1861) or early spring he was discharged by the Board from his position as Superintendent of the School. On leaving he went to Wheelock and spent a couple of weeks in my home. While there he repaired my watch for me. Thence he went to Spencer Academy.

On Saturday May 11th, he went to Doaksville. In some way the rough fellows about the town learned that [John] Kingsbury had some revolvers belonging to Wentz. After he had left on his return, they went to Kingsbury and demanded them of him. Then they pursued Wentz, overtook him about a mile from town, brought him back, and fired

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[5]Iyanubi Seminary for Choctaw girls was established in 1842, by the Choctaw General Council. The Rev. Cyrus Byington was superintendent of this school for many years, its location near old Eagletown on the east side of the Mountain Fork River, present McCurtain County. The Rev. Byington was a New England missionary of the American Board (ABCFM) who began his work among the Choctaws in 1820. He is noted in history for his scholarly work on the Choctaw language, his grammar of the Choctaw, a study of many years published by the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1871. His "Dictionary of the Choctaw Language," a work of nearly 50 years, was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1915, Edited by John Swanton and Henry S. Halbert (*Bulletin* 46, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington). Both the manuscripts, the grammar and the dictionary — were produced at Iyanubi Seminary where Dr. Byington lived until the latter part of the Civil War.

[6]John P. Kingsbury was the son of the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, who was noted as the "Father of the Choctaw Mission." and was one of the founders of the Southern Presbyterian Church at Augusta, Georgia in 1860. John P. Kingsbury moved from Doaksville in 1858 to Boggy Depot where he built a home and established another store. He served in the Conferedate commissary department at Boggy Depot during the Civil War, and was the only white man ever chosen to serve as National Secretary of the Choctaws in the history of their Nation. John P. Kingsbury died at his home in 1867 at Old Boggy Depot, and burial was in the cemetery there. His views on abolitionism are given by James D. Morrison in "Notes on Abolitionism in the Choctaw Nation," "*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 [Spring, 1960], pp. 78-84.

revolvers about his ears. He stood up to them and told them if they wanted to kill him to go ahead. He was ready to die as he expected to do [sometime]. But they let him go, and he returned to Spencer. The news soon reached Texas.

On Tuesday May 14, a company of whites came over with a rope to hang him. Taking with them some half-breed Choctaws from Doaksville they went to Spencer. Mr. [Rev. Alexander Reid] Reid informed them that Wentz had left that morning.[7] The whites were disposed to doubt his statement, supposing Mr. Wentz to be concealed somewhere there. Sim Folsom, a Choctaw, said to them, "Gentlemen, you must not doubt Mr. Reid's word."

They wanted to know of Mr. Reid what he would do in case of the war coming into that region of the country. The reply was, "I would take my family and go to a place of safety, if I could find one. I never shot a gun in my life, and I do not know that I could do it." (He was very nearsighted.) On Thursday, May 16, I received a visit from Capt. S. H. Caudle and a Mr. Hailey of Red River County, Texas, accompanied by a Mr. Howell, a white man who had married a half-breed Choctaw, and who lived on the border of Red River in the Choctaw Nation, opposite to that county.[8] Whether there were others of the company or not, I do not know, I saw no others. The previous winter I had gone over into Texas to buy corn to feed the starving Choctaws. I afterwards learned that Capt. Caudle had heard that I was there,

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[7]The Rev. Alexander Reid, missionary of the Presbyterian Mission Board, had served as superintendent of Spencer Academy since the early 1850's. He left the Indian Territory at the beginning of Civil War, remaining in the North until the early 1880's when he returned to the mission field among the Choctaws. It was Mr. Reid who supplied the words and air of the now famous Negro spirituals — "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," "Steal Away to Jesus," etc. — to the Negro "Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University, Tennessee, in 1871. These songs had been first heard sung by the Negro slave servants, "Uncle Wallaee" Willis and his wife "Aunt Minerva" at Spencer Academy before the Civil War. The "Jubilee Singers" directed by a Prof. White of Fisk University were on tour of the North to raise money for education of the Negro freedmen of the South, and gave a program in Newark, New Jersey, where Mr. Reid was living after the War. He attended the program, and was inspired to recall the words and music of "Uncle Wallace's" songs with the aid of Mrs. Reid and their sons who remembered them from their former days at Spencer Academy. The "Jubilee Singers" practiced and learned some five or six of the old spirituals under the direction of Mr. Reid aided by Prof. White. Afterward the young negro group became noted for singing these songs in their tours of the United States and Europe in behalf of Fisk University.

[8]This was Calvin H. Howell of Choctaw descent who came from Mississippi and settled on the east side of the Mountain Fork River near Eagletown about 1840.

and had run his horse to Albion to get there before I should cross on my return, in order to compel me to drink with him. He was too late, but had he reached there in season I think he would have had an interesting time in accomplishing his purpose.

Hailey, it was said, had left South Carolina for South Carolina's good. He kept a grocery—i.e. groggery—at Albion, [Texas], the principal business of which was to sell liquor, especially to the Choctaws, for in the Choctaw country the introduction of liquor was prohibited by both the Choctaw law and the law of the United States. He dealt a good deal in horses, and often bought them from the Choctaws. It was said to be a matter of no concern to him whether the seller had any title to the property or not; for the Indian had no standing in the State Courts, and so could not reclaim his property.

The character of the men in that vicinity may be judged from the fact that there was but one man in that region who would not drink. The husband of the lady who told me this died not long afterward of disease brought on by drink. It was held by the people that it was necessary on account of the malaria.

Their character further appears from what follows: In July 1860, Jerry Craft, a negro who was hired by me, told me one day at noon, that that morning when he was milking, a white man came along, hatless, and inquired of him the way to Fort Smith. He directed him Southward toward Albion. "No," he said, "I have just come from there. I had a fine horse that was taken away from me and I just escaped with my life, and lost my hat." I supposed that he was a horse thief, who was escaping the sort of justice which was there administered to such. The next winter, when over there, I heard the story.

He had come from Missouri with a fine horse to sell. Coming down the Arkansas line he found no chance to dispose of him to his satisfaction. Hearing that Hailey dealt in horses, he went to see him. Not succeeding in making a trade, he stopped there a couple of weeks. At first he had pretended to have considerable money; but when Hailey wanted pay for his board, he had none. This brought him under suspicion, and they arrested him. The man who had him in charge talked with him on political matters. Among other things, he said, "I believe that all these Presidential candidates are a set of scoundrels, and Lincoln is just as good as any of them: don't you?" His reply was, "I don't know; perhaps he is."

When night came, the neighbors to the number of ten

gathered in Hailey's saloon to try him. He offered to work for his board till he could send back to Missouri and get proof that the horse was his, and that he was all right on the question of slavery. But they proceeded to try him on the charges of being a horse thief and an abolitionist. Having a fine horse, in connection with his deceit in regard to money, was the proof that he was a horse thief. Not cursing Lincoln to his guard was proof that he was an abolitionist. A line had been drawn across the floor. When the trial was over, the question was put, "All that believe he is a horse thief step across the line." Nine stepped across, one did not. "All that believe he is an abolitionist step across the line." Nine stepped across, the same one stood still. He did not believe that either charge was proved; and moreover, he believed in giving him a chance to prove his character.

Had they been unanimous they would have taken him out and hanged him. As it was they put a rope around his neck led him down to the flatboat, crossed to the other side of Red River, and hung him up three times and let him down again. They said he trembled like a leaf. He begged for a drink of water. They allowed one man to take him to the river to drink. It was necessary to unpinion his arms that he might drink. This done he plunged in, swam across, went up the river a couple of miles, swam back, and in the morning appeared at my corral. He went over into Arkansas, sent back proof that the horse was his, and they sent it to him.

That illustrates the kind of men that paid me the visit.

They told me that they wished to search my premises for revolvers. Said I, "Gentlemen you are welcome to search to your heart's content. I can tell you beforehand what you will find in the way of weapons. You will find three butcher knives, one old one and two new ones which were sent me from Memphis not long since."

They asked me to open some boxes that were there. I did so. They contained Choctaw books. They looked in my desk. They examined the bedroom over my study, and the bedroom on one side of it. They went into the house. In our family room they found George with an eruption on his face. Capt. Caudle inquired what was the matter with him. I replied that I supposed he had the measles. That was too much for him. He had never had the disease, and therefore was not willing to expose himself to it. He left the others to do the searching there. They found a trunk locked, tried it and inquired what was in it. "Really I do not know," I said. "You will have to wait till my wife comes home as she has the key."

They opened the drawer of the kitchen table and there they saw the three butcher knives. They went upstairs and felt in some boxes of clothing which had been sent to us from Dr. Boardman's church, Philadelphia, (the Tenth Presbyterian) for the destitute Choctaws, but which, not having arrived till late in March, we were keeping to give out to the Choctaws the next winter. (Crops had almost completely failed in 1860, and they were on the verge of starvation.) So far as they went, they made a quite thorough search, in closets and cellar, etc. As we passed out, I said to them, "Here is another room upstairs (by another stairway) which you have not seen: and there are several cabins around. You are welcome to search them all."

"No," they said. "We are satisfied." They told me that if I had a revolver or a gun, or both, that would have been nothing out of the way.

Going back to the study, they wanted to know my sentiments. Supposing they wanted my sentiments on the subject of slavery, I proceeded to give them to them. Some time previous I had received by mail two pamphlets published and sent out by "The 1860 Association of Charleston, S. C.," one discussing the subject of slavery, and the other that of the right of secession. In the former, were extensive quotations from a thanksgiving sermon which had been preached by the Rev. Henry J. Van Dyde [*sic*] D.D. in Brooklyn in 1860. In this he quoted largely from the action of the Presbyterian Assembly in 1818. I read to them from that document. Of course coming from Charleston, they could raise no objection to it.

After listening for a while, Capt. Caudle interrupted me by saying: "Mr. Edwards, we don't think you are an abolitionist. If we did we'd swing you. What we want to know is your sentiments on the public questions of the day."

Supposing that the free soil question was the great question, I proceeded to give my views on that. I stated that I believed the Republicans were right as to the constitutional power of Congress over the question of slavery in the territories; that John C. Calhoun had given that as his view; and that Jefferson Davis had held the same view ten years before when he advocated the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. But while holding that view, my plan would be to leave the whole question to the people of the territories, provided there should be no usurpation. Understanding me to have referred to Thomas Jefferson, the Captain remarked that he was too far back. He wanted to

know what I thought about the present troubles of the Country and the War.

I told him I did not believe in the right of secession, and that the government had given them no cause for rebellion; and therefore I could not take their side in the War. Had there been any justifying cause for the war by any invasion of the rights of the South on the part of the Government, I would be with them. But there clearly was none. I therefore could not favor their side. The details of the conversation that passed between us have passed from my memory.

Finally, the question was put to me whether I would pledge myself, in case the War came into that region of the country, to take up arms for the South. "Gentlemen," said I, "You might as well ask me to strike my Mother. I was born in the North; my friends and kindred are still living there; I do not believe the Southern states have a right to secede, nor that the Government has given them any cause to rebel. What I wish to do is to stay here quietly and go on with my work for the Choctaws, not taking part in the War on either side. I am willing to give you my pledge to do nothing against you, and to abide by that to the death. Beyond that my conscience will not let me do."

The crisis was reached. They went out and consulted. Returning, Capt. Caudle asked me how long a time I wanted to get ready to leave. I replied that in the feeble state of my wife's health, I thought I ought to have at least a month. He answered, "It would be a cruelty to compel a feeble lady to travel in this hot weather; but get ready and leave as soon as you can."

They were through with me. Taking for granted that they would wish to visit Mr. Libby, I told them that if they were going to his house I would go with them, as he might be absent, and I did not wish to have his family unnecessarily alarmed. Mr. Howell spoke up: "I'll vouch for him." So they concluded not to go there. Little did they imagine that, when he had read the account of the great Union meeting in Union Square, New York, he said, "Don't I wish I was there! I would volunteer."

Mr. L. [Libby] was from Maine. When he first came to Mr. Kingsbury's station[9] as a laborer his views and feeling

[9]The Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury's station mentioned here was Pine Ridge Mission, established under the auspices of the American Board (ABCFM) in 1835, the site located about 1½ miles northwest of the town of Fort Towson, Choctaw County. The Choctaw Council established Chuahla Seminary for Choctaw girls in 1842, at Pine Ridge Mission with Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury as Superintendent.

on the subject of slavery were such and so freely expressed that he made himself offensive. So after he had been there a year or two, it was thought best that he should leave there. In 1855, during our absence on account of Mrs. Edward's health, the steward of our boarding school resigned. I corresponded with Mr. Libby in reference to taking the vacant place. He was willing. He said that the people at home who were making so great a noise on the subject of slavery were doing no good to anyone. On the other hand the missionaries were doing good to all, white, red, and black. He was willing to go back and hold his tongue. Secretary Treat asked me if I did not fear Mr. L. would make us trouble. I told him I thought he would not. So he was appointed.

His predecessor had had in his employ Old Aunt Eliza, who belonged to a young Choctaw. We had her for a little while, but Mrs. E. could not tolerate her lack of neatness in her work. Aunt Eliza wished Mr. L. to hire her and he did. After a while her young master wished to sell her and she begged Mr. Libby to buy her. He yielded to her entreaties and bought her, paying $200.00 for her. In course of time, her husband, Uncle Bob was sold to a white neighbor, Mr. Hodges, a citizen by marriage, who purposed to sell him into Texas.[10] He came to Mr. Libby and begged him to buy him, too. Their joint entreaties moved him to take pity on them and he bought him, paying $500.00 for him. So the abolitionist had become a slave holder. That accounted for Mr. Howell's willingness to vouch for him. He supposed he would of course, be on the side where his property interests seemed to be. Still in our discussion in the study, Capt. Caudle had claimed to be ready to go in to the fight for the South, not on account of the property value of the slave, but for principle.

I understood that Mr. Hailey reported to our neighbors that ours was the nicest place he had ever seen. Certainly it could not be on account of the fineness of the house, for it was a piece of patchwork. The original two log rooms had a space between them, in which was a closet, a cupboard and a passageway and in part a stairway. When the Boarding School was established there, a half story in rough frame had been added in the rear of the eastern log room, and used by us as a kitchen. Subsequently a sitting and bed room below, and a half story bedroom above had been added in better frame, ceiled in dressed lumber. In the changes that had taken place a room for George had

[10]This was Mr. Joseph Hodges who married Cabelle Ward of Choctaw descent. Their two sons, John M. Hodges and D. W. Hodges ("Maje") were prominent citizens and merchants in the Choctaw Nation at Atoka and Lehigh, in the 1880's to 1890's.

been put in the rear of this, while a wide piazza filled the space between this and the kitchen. Yet all was well kept and so comfortable that I scarce doubt that Hailey was correct in pronouncing it the nicest place he had ever seen.

After they had gone, Mrs. E. returned from Mr. Wilson's, and when told what had occurred, she burst into tears, exclaiming, "What will the poor Choctaws do?"

I could not believe that the southern authorities would want us driven away. I hoped therefore to bring influences to bear which would hold them in check. I had learned that the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D. D., Secretary of the Board, who, a native of South Carolina, had resigned his secretaryship and gone South, was an intimate friend of Toombs the Confederate Secretary of State. I hoped that through them an influence could be brought to bear which would prevent the Texans from going to extremes. Still I deemed it best to get the means for travelling in case of necessity. To do this it was necessary to visit Dr. [Cyrus] Kingsbury at Pine Ridge who was the treasurer of our mission, appointed by the Board, and who alone could make drafts on its funds. So I prepared to go to him next day.

Next morning at prayers I read the first half of the tenth Chapter of John. The verses 11 to 13 seemed to condemn the idea of fleeing. "I am the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is a hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth because he is a hireling and careth not for the sheep." That gave me something to think of in my horseback ride that day.

On my way toward Doaksville, beyond Clear Creek, I met the Rev. Mr. Newman, a missionary of the M. E. Church South. I told him what had occurred. "Do you know," said he, "The story is out about you?" "No," said I, "What is it?" He told it. It was that sometime before I had gone to Mrs. Gooding's[11] at old Fort Towson when she and her daughter were absent, had stayed there an hour or so talking with their man Tolbert, telling him what to do in case the War came into that region of the country; that Basil Leflore, who was living at the old hospital of the fort, had seen me when I went there, and when I went away.[12]

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[11]Mrs. Gooding was the wife of Lem Gooding, a native of Maine, who had a store at Doaksville before the Civil War.

[12]Basil Leflore was a brother of Chief Greenwood Leflore who had promoted the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi and been one of the Choctaw chiefs who signed the Treaty of Dancing

I told him that there was just this much basis of truth for the story: Some three or four weeks previously, as I was returning from the meeting of the Presbytery at Goodland, someone had given me a message to deliver to John Kingsbury in Doaksville. I was in Kingsbury's store and bought some things, but was so weak and sick that I sat down to do the business. But I entirely forgot the message, until I had gotten about a mile away from Doaksville, on my way home. I felt too sick to ride back, so adding two miles to my ride. Being near the Fort, and knowing that Tolbert often went over to Doaksville, I went there to ask him to deliver the message to him, talked with him perhaps a minute or two, invited him to come and see his wife who was cooking for us, and rode on home. I did not get down from my pony. Not a word passed between us on the subject of War. Mr. Newman told me they were talking very threateningly about me. "Who am I to look out for?" said I. "Well, Tom Pitchlynn is the worst one, I think," said he. Would you advise me to take the prairie road and so avoid his house?" "Yes," said he. I started on. Thinking of it, I decided to keep the main road and pass Pitchlynn's house. As I passed he was sitting on the piazza. I bowed and passed on.

I went directly to Mrs. Gooding's to make a correction of the story. They gave no intimation as to whether they believed my statement or not. In more recent meetings with the daughter the subject never came up. She had married the man who was responsible for the story.

I went to Pine Ridge and got three drafts on New York of $100.00 each. Returning I came through Doaksville. The Confederate flag was flying over the town. I wanted to have a talk with Gen. Cooper. He had been the U. S. agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws for eight years during the administrations of Pierce and Buchannon. He was said to be a cousin to Jefferson Davis. He had accepted the office again under Lincoln. But then he was engaged in raising a regiment of Choctaws and Chickasaws for the Confederate Army. I stated to him what had occurred, and my wishes. Said he, "If you will state that you are willing to defend

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Rabbit Creek in 1830. Basil Leflore married Narcissa Fisher of the well known Fisher family of the Choctaw Nation. He moved his family west and served as treasurer of the Nation longer than any other Choctaw, before the Civil War. He was elected "Governor" of the Choctaw Nation under the Skullyville Constitution in 1859, serving in this office until the adoption of a new constitution at Doaksville and election of officers for the Nation in 1860. Ex-Gov. Basil Leflore moved and made his home in about 1867 near Goodland Mission, which is still in operation as Goodland Indian School about two miles southwest of Hugo, Choctaw County. His log cabin office is standing on the grounds at Goodland School.

the Choctaws against aggression from any quarter, I think I can fix things so that you will be able to remain." Said I, "If that were the question I believe I could say it. But, General, that is not the question." I bade him goodbye and rode on home.

That evening at prayers I read the latter half of the tenth chapter of John. In the 39th and 40th verses were the words: "Therefore they sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hand, and went away again beyond Jordan." There was Christ's example clearly justifying me in leaving to save my life.

Mrs. E. began selling off the things, but I checked her. I still hoped that in some way we would be able to remain. I wrote to Capt. Caudle asking that my orders to leave be put in writing, assigning the reason, as it might be safer for me to travel, if it were known that I was compelled to leave, not as an abolitionist, but as simply unwilling to pledge myself to take up arms for the South. He replied saying that he had no authority to order me away, that from what my neighbors said, he did not think I was abolitionist; but, in his opinion, all men in the Indian Territory country who were not ready to defend the Confederates states had better strike for other parts.

Things went on as usual for nearly three weeks. On the 1st and 2nd of June we had a big meeting. Saturday night and Sunday we had the privilege of entertaining the Principal Chief, George Hudson and Peter P. Pitchlynn, who were on their way to Doaksville to a special meeting of the General Council, which the Chief had called for the following Monday.[14] He went to it with his message prepared recommending neutrality. He said it was none of

[13]George Hudson, born in Mississippi was one-half Choctaw. He made his home on the west side of the Mountain Fork River, a few miles west of Eagletown. He was elected as the first "Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation" under the Doaksville Constitution, serving from 1860 to 1862.

[14]Peter P. Pitchlynn was a prominent citizen of the Choctaw Nation, noted as delegate to Washington in promoting the Choctaw "Net Proceeds Claim" (payment for the approximate 10,000,000 acres of tribal lands in Mississippi given over without compensation from the U.S. Government in the Treaty of 1830). His farm home operated by his Negro slaves was near Eagletown. He practically lived in Washington, D.C. from about 1854, and was in the Capital City during most of the Civil War. He was elected Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, serving the term of 1864-1866. He became closely associated in Choctaw claims before the U.S. Government with Albert Pike who had served as commissioner for the Confederate States in securing the Choctaw-Chickasaw Confederate Treaty in 1861. Peter P. Pitchlynn died and was buried at Washington, D.C., in 1883.

their fight. I afterward learned that he was compelled by a vigilance committee to change it recommending the Choctaws to join the South. I know not the composition of that committee, whether it was of whites or of half-breed Choctaws or both. The people of the adjoining states, Arkansas and Texas told the Choctaws that if they did not join them they would exterminate them. The Government troops having been withdrawn, situated as the Choctaws were right in the corner between those two states, they were completely in their power, and of course were compelled to yield to their dictation. They passed laws, as I afterward learned, assuming jurisdiction over all whites among them and requiring all between 15 and 55 years of age to join the militia, and all over 55 to join the home guards. (I may err as to figures)

On Thursday afternoon I learned that on Wednesday a public meeting had been held at Doaksville, the capital, at which Capt. Robert M. Jones, the wealthiest Choctaw, took the ground that "every man that was not with them must be hung up to the first limb between heaven and hell."[15] I immediately concluded that if so moderate a man as he could make such a speech as that, it was of no use for me to try to remain. So I mounted the pony and started out to sell the cattle. I met with no success.

Next morning I was in my study, writing a note to send to Doaksville offering my furniture for sale when Mrs. E. came in and said, "Mrs. Dukes is here and says the committee are to be here today to hang you, and you must get out of the way as soon as possible." I took my keys out of my pocket, handed them to Mr. Libby who was sitting there, and said, "Mr. Libby will you saddle Jerry for me?" Then I went into the house, put on a warmer suit of clothes

[15]Robert M. Jones (of Choctaw descent) was an ardent secessionist and leader in making the Confederate Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty which he signed as a Choctaw delegate at North Forktown, Creek Nation July 12, 1861, with Commissioner Albert Pike serving in behalf of the Confederate States. Jones was one of the wealthiest (if not the wealthiest) planters in the Southwest, owner of 500 Negro slaves, several plantations on Red River, a sugar plantation in Louisiana, a large store at Doaksville and trading establishments (one for a time at Boggy Depot, etc.) in the western part of the Nation. He completely outfitted the first company of Choctaw mounted volunteers for Confederate Army service in the summer of 1861. "Colonel" Jones served as the Choctaw delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond for several terms, and at the end of the War served as the leader of the Choctaw delegation to Washington in the making the Treaty of 1866 with the Federal Government. The site of his pre-Civil War home is on a tract, near the family burial ground now owned as a place of historical significance by the Oklahoma Historical Society about four miles southeast of Hugo, in Choctaw County.

which had come from my mother a few days before, put some clothes and some snack in my saddle bags, had a prayer with Mrs. E., took all the money there was in the house, and mounted and started, probably within 15 minutes of the time the word came.

Mrs. E. wished to know my plans. I told her I would go to Lenox, Dr. Hobbs' station, and wait there for her and the children, if I could.[16] If not I would make the best of my way northward. "What shall I do?" said she. "Get a team and follow me as soon as you can," said I. We had a pair of horses, but one was 16 years old, the other 20. Using all the corn I could get for feeding the destitute Choctaws, I had fed scarce any to my horses, so they were very poor. The wagon was an old one not fit for the trip over the mountains. Thus having sold nothing, I had to leave the brunt of the burden for her to bear. So I bade her farewell and started.

A heavy rain having fallen the night before sufficient to raise Little River, three miles away, Mr. Libby went with me to help me across. "Well," said he, "If it comes to this that I have got to say I will fight for them or hand [*sic*]. I'll tell them I'll fight for them." I had nothing to say. My conscience would not let me advise him to do otherwise than I was doing. At the same time I could not advise him to a course which might cost him and his family his life. So I said nothing. We met Cornelius Garland, son of James Garland, one of the valued elders of the Wheelock Church.[17]

[16]Lenox Mission established under the auspices of the American Board (ABCFM) in 1852 by the medical missionary, Dr. Simon Leavitt Hobbs at a site about 1½ miles northwest of present Whitesboro, Le Flore County, on the north side of the Kiamichi River. The mission work here prospered with the friendly cooperation of the Choctaws living in this region; one of the staunchest friends of the mission and Dr. Hobbs was Alfred Wade, (Governor of the Choctaw Nation under the Skullyville Constitution, 1857-1858, who signed the Choctaw Treaty with the Confederate States in 1861, and again the Treaty of 1866 with the Federal government at Washington after the War). At the outbreak of the War, Dr. Hobbs left Lenox Mission as leader of the missionaries of Union sympathies fleeing the Choctaw country via of Ft. Smith, and took his family to New England. He returned to mission work among the Choctaws in 1872, and he and his family reopened and were again stationed at Lenox Mission in 1882 where he died the next year. He and Mrs. Hobbs who died shortly after her husband were both buried near the old log mission church, their gravestones marking the old Lenox Mission burial ground still seen northwest of Whitesboro.

[17]The Garlands were a prominent family, Choctaw by blood. Samuel Garland, one of the older members of this family moved west during the Indian removal from Mississippi, and made his plantation home north of the present site of Tom, in present McCurtain County. He served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in 1862-1864. A handsome marble monument stands at his grave in the old Garland Cemetery, a historic plot now maintained and

He went with us to help me across the river. At the river, a son of Ubalatobi, an older brother of Ibanubi and Thomas Watson, had a canoe there. Swimming Jerry by its side we crossed. There we kneeled down and prayed, and I parted with them, never to see the two Choctaws more on earth. I hope I will meet them in the heavenly world. Cornelius became a Christian man and an elder in the church. His widow, a daughter of the old district chief, Thomas Leflore, still lived, at last accounts, in her old home. Their son has since been county Judge of Towson County.[18]

I travelled northward reaching the house of Rev. Pliny Fisk, the first native [Choctaw] Presbyterian minister, to spend the night.

To return to things at Doaksville and Wheelock: It seems that at the public meeting at which Capt. Jones had made a speech above referred to, Mr. Willie Harkins, a prominent halfbreed was present. On account of some matters connected with the school he had for several years borne some personal ill will toward me. When Jones made the speech, Harkins said, "Edwards is one." And proceeded to make arrangements to come to my house to put the speech in execution. A committee was arranged, composed mostly of halfbreeds, men of low standing as to character.

One, a good neighbor of ours joined them for the purpose of getting into their plans and letting me know that I might escape. It was Mr. John Wilson, father of William, John and Edward Wilson, now prominent men in the Nation. He managed to send word to Mrs. Dukes, the wife of my assistant translator, Joseph Dukes, who was a licentiate under the care of the Indian Presbytery, an excellent man,

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owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Judge Joel Garland, another prominent member of this family, served as a judge of the Choctaw courts in Apuckshenubbee District (southeastern part of Oklahoma) after the Civil War. His old home stands about two miles east of Harris, in McCurtain County, and is still owned by members of the Garland family.

[18]Thomas LeFlore came west during the removal of the Choctaws in Mississippi, and served as one of the three district chiefs of the Nation west, in place of his cousin Chief Greenwood LeFlore of Mississippi. Thomas LeFlore lived for a number of years in the old "Choctaw Chief's House" near present Swink, in Choctaw County, having been elected chief of the Southeastern District (Oklafalaya, later Apuckshenubbee District) of the Nation west in 1834. Just before his death about 1850, he and his wife lived near Wheelock, in a house reported to have been built by the U. S. government where their son, Michael LeFlore made his home during and for many years after the Civil War. Towson County was one of the nineteen counties organized in the Choctaw Nation in 1850, its name for that of Fort Towson which was located within the limits of the County.

as well as a superior interpreter and a good preacher.[19] He was at the time in Doaksville. They lived at the old Norwalk station about five miles from Wheelock.

Mrs. Dukes came at once to bring the word. It was only a year or two before leaving the Choctaws the second time in 1896, that I learned that Mr. Wilson had any part in sending me the word. Mrs. Dukes stated also that a letter had been sent me the day before through one of our church members. I had not received it. About noon after I had left Mrs. E. received the letter. Thinking I ought to have it she employed Wm. Duck to follow me with it. He rode as long as he could see the way; and when he could no longer find the path he sat down and held his horse till daylight came. When I rose early in the morning he was sitting on the fence of Mr. Fisk's yard, awaiting me. It was a sad meeting and a sad farewell, for we had become very greatly attached to each other. The letter included one from Father Kingsbury, one from Mr. Dukes and a pass from the Principal Chief, George Hudson, countersigned by Col. D. H. Cooper.[20] It was a good Providence that I did not receive it at home. The word came in it was not so threatening as the word that Mrs. Dukes brought. Had I received it before I left I might possibly have remained at home, and had I remained bloodshed would, in all probability, have been the result.

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[19]Joseph Dukes (English-French and Choctaw by blood) attended Mayhew Mission (ABCFM) in Mississippi where he served as interpreter and translator for the Rev. Cyrus Byington in the early years of the mission. Joseph Dukes married Nancy Collins (one-half Choctaw by blood) in September, 1830. The young couple was among the first parties to come west during the Choctaw removal from Mississippi, and settled in the vicinity of Wheelock. Dukes taught the school at Lukfahta for a time, and was highly regarded throughout his life for his work in connection with the Choctaw schools and with the Presbyterian Church. He died in 1861 and was buried near Wheelock Mission. His son Gilbert Dukes (born, 1849) was elected and served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation in 1900 to 1902.

[20]Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, a native of Mississippi, attended the University of Virginia (1832-34), and served as Captain in the Mississippi Rifle Regiment, under command of Col. Jefferson Davis in the Mexican War. He was appointed U. S. Agent to the Choctaws, and arrived at the Choctaw Agency (Skullyville) in June, 1853. When Principal Chief George Hudson issued a proclamation in favor of an alliance of the Choctaw Nation with the Confederate States, June 14, 1861, Col. D. H. Cooper was placed in command of the newly organized Mounted Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Riflemen of the Confederate Army. He served in command of Confederate Indian forces throughout the War, and in February, 1865, as Brigadier-General was assigned the military command of the District of the Indian Territory, in the Trans-Mississippi Department, C.S.A., (See Muriel H. Wright, "General Douglas H. Cooper, C.S.A.," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 [Summer, 1954], pp. 142-84.)

As it was Wm. Duck returned to Wheelock and I pursued my way to Lenox, arriving there on Saturday evening. I had as my guide for some distance a man whose name I cannot recall but whom I repeatedly met after my return. We talked matters over as we went along. Well do I remember the emphasis with which he expressed the wish to "Litot kanchih (crush out)" the halfbreeds. For they looked upon the halfbreed party as responsible for much of the trouble.

At Lenox I was very cordially received and remained there the whole of the next week and till Thursday of the week following. I preached both Sabbaths. While there I learned from ex-governor Wade the action of the Choctaw council. Dr. Hobbs concluded that he could not obey the new law, and so concluded that they too must leave. In the meantime what was going on at Wheelock. I left Friday, June 7th, probably between 9 and 11 o'clock. At noon Mrs. E. received the letter which Mrs. Dukes had spoken of as having been sent me the day before. The documents which it contained, so far as I now have them are as follows:

Choctaw Nation: To all whom it may concern,

Executive Office: Greeting:

Be it known that I George Hudson, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation do hereby grant a passport and safe conduct to Rev. John Edwards and his family, on his journey out of the Choctaw Nation, and hereby enjoin and require all Choctaws or others within the Choctaw Nation to allow Mr. Edwards and family to proceed in peace and without hindrance or molestation.

I further certify that the said Rev. John Edwards had given me satisfactory assurance that he is not an abolitionist and not even a free soiler.

I further request all civil and military authorities within the southern states to give free passage and safe conduct to Rev. John Edwards and his family.

I would also add that Mr. Edwards goes to the North to visit his relatives and for the health of his wife.

Given under my hand and seal at Doaksville, this 6th day of June A.D. 1861.

George Hudson (Seal)
Principal Chief C.N.

I certify that the foregoing passport was signed by Col. George Hudson, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation and I also join in the same.

Douglas H. Cooper
Col. C. S. Army.

Doaksville, C. N. June 5, 1861

This is to certify that we have known the bearer, the Rev. John Edwards for the past ten years. He is a Presbyterian Minister, and has been laboring among the Choctaws as Pastor of the Church at Wheelock. We can certify that he is in no way tinctured with abolition sentiments, but on the contrary has been a strong opposer of

every thing of that kind. He is about to leave us on his way to Little Rock, we take pleasure in bearing testimony to his character as a gentleman and a minister. We recommend him to our friends and to the community through which he may chance to pass.

R. M. Jones.

About three p.m. of Friday, a light horseman (constable) came, having been sent from Doaksville, bringing letters from the Principal Chief, from Dr. Kingsbury, and from Mr. Dukes, (if my memory serves me correctly) asking me to come to Doaksville as the General Council wished to see me, and expressing confidence that all could be so arranged that I could remain. They also requested that, if I had left, Mrs. E. would send for me. So she hurried to get a messenger to carry the notes to me. Hoping that we would be able to remain revived. She wrote to me not to come home first but to take the straight road to Doaksville. The man employed as messenger was Tom Vaughn a full blood, a wicked fellow, but a good friend to me. The river being still up, he could not get off that day.

But the next morning by sunrise he was off with a hurrah. His wife a half-breed woman, who had once been a member of the Wheelock Church, but had been excommunicated before my time there, said to him, "Tom, the horse is mine, you kill him but that you bring Mr. Edwards back." That noon another messenger came. It was brought by his (Capt. Dukes) little son Gilbert, who in 1883, when I returned to the Nation, was District Judge, and has recently been Principal Chief. In it Capt. Dukes said, "For God's sake don't let Mr. Edwards come to Doaksville. There will be bloodshed if he does. The committee are determined to carry out their threat of execution, and as many as a hundred men are determined to protect him."

So Mrs. Edwards had to hurry around to get another messenger to hasten after the second messenger to stop him. The one sent was Billy Parrish, a young man, a part Choctaw and part Mexican, who was in Mr. Libby's employ. He rode 35 miles, wearing his horse's hoofs out, and employed another man to overtake Vaughn and stop him. When he was informed that he was to turn back, he cursed and swore saying he would like to see the man that would touch me.

A note sent by my wife by the last messenger reached me on the second Sabbath after I had left, and I was in the pulpit of the Lenox Church, about to commence the service of the day. It was brief. Without explaining the situation, it said, "The last news has paralized me. I cannot even weep. The house is full of weeping people." She wanted advice as to what to do. Father Kingsbury sent word that he was intending to go to see her, but he failed to come. The reason

he afterwards assigned, was that he could not raise money for her. The Rev. Mr. Reid came but he could give her no advice; so also with Mr. Libby. She had the whole responsibility of the situation upon herself. She commenced selling things, pieces or articles about the house ranging from five cents to five dollars.

She sent for a neighbor, Mr. Hodges, a white man with a half-breed wife who lived near us and kept a little store and had a gin and a horse mill and did some farming. She asked him if he would sell his mules. "Yes." "What do you want for them?" "Four hundred dollars." "Will you take cattle for them?" "Yes." So she sent a man out into the prairie to gather them up. All told there was 35. Mr. H. set his valuation on them at $150, about half their previous price. "Will you take the wheat in the field?" "Yes." (In order to have some food in the country as early as possible I had seen wheat costing me three dollars a bushel. It was then cut and in shock.) He put his own price upon it. "And the oats in the crib?" "Yes." "And the corn sheller?" "Yes." "And the pacing pony?" "Yes." "You are keeping a public house (entertaining travelers) and you haven't a suitable table." So he went into the house and bought the dining table. She took him upstairs. There were the boxes of clothing which had come from Philadelphia. As he had a little store he could sell them. So she let him have them at a low figure. She sold him soap, knives and forks, and various household articles. At last he said he could not take another thing. He counted up the items. They came to $401. He paid the one dollar and sent over the mules. When Mr. Libby saw the mules, he stood with tears in his eyes. "What is the matter?" "Why Mrs. Edwards, those mules are so poor, they could not draw the empty wagon over the mountains." "No, I'll go on foot first." "Well," said he, "My horses I have not counted as worth more than $300, but they are in good condition. I cannot get off just yet, so if you choose to trade me the mules for the horses, I will make the trade." "Agreed," she said, and she was provided with a team.

Next as to harness. I had had two old sets. They got them out, selected the best pieces from them, repaired where it was necessary, and they had a set which would do. Then as to a wagon. Our old wagon was unfit for the rough trip. Mr. Hodges had one which he held at $125. For this Mrs. E. traded him a field belonging to the Board. Thus she was fitted out with a team, harness and wagon. She thought the harness ought to be oiled. "Ah, Mrs. Edwards that is your pride." "No, I think it would be less liable to break." The largest single article was old Bill, our sixteen year old

horse to Capt. Dukes for $10, or $20. Charlie the twenty year old was thrown in.

On Thursday Col. P. P. Pitchlynn, the Choctaw who figures in Dickens' *American Notes*, called to see her on his way home from Council. He told her how much he thought of me, and sympathized with her most heartily. "I thank you, Colonel, for your sympathy but I want something more."

"What is it, Mrs. Edwards?"

"I will do anything in my power for you."

"I want money, but I don't want to beg it. You have brought your white wife home from Washington, and I know you have not the things to make her comfortable. I want to sell you our bed and other articles of furniture."

She showed them to him and named to him the price, amounting to $56. He said they were cheap, and he would take them. He would send the money when he sent for the things. "That will be too late. I want to start tomorrow," said she.

Finally, it was arranged that Mr. Libby would advance the money, and Col. Pitchlynn should pay Mr. Byington. The Col. had but $5 with him. He took 25 cents to pay his ferriage, and paid her the rest. So the next day she was ready to start with our son, George C., then lacking four days of being six years old, with her $525, team and wagon, while the people around watched the start with deepest grief.

During the week various schemes had been devised to keep us there. Edmond Gardner, one of the Elders of the Church, a brother of Capt. Noel Gardner, my first interpreter and uncle to the principal chief, Jefferson Gardner, said, "Mrs. E., just say the word, and a hundred men will go up into the mountains for Mr. Edwards, and bring him back to my house and we will protect him."[21] But she told him that would only make trouble for the Choctaws.

The vigilance committee who had made their threats did not appear openly. But they came. At night, Mrs. E. could

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[21]The five Gardner brothers — Isaac, Jerry, James, Noel and Edmond (Choctaw by blood) — were young men when they came west from Mississippi in 1832, during the Choctaw removal with a large party of Choctaws led by Capt. Thomas LeFlore (see fn. 21 above). Noel married Henrietta LeFlore, a daughter of Capt. LeFlore, and one of their three sons was Jefferson Gardner who was elected and served as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1894-1896. The Gardners before the Civil War were prominent Choctaw

see the light of their pipes, as they moved around watching the place. They thought that I was concealed in the neighborhood and would be likely to come home at night. If I remember correctly, they numbered six. Their names were given me afterward by an old Negro who belonged to one of them.

My family was safer without me than with me. The first day they went to Pine Ridge, 1½ miles from Doaksville, the station of Father Kingsbury, the old pioneer missionary, whom everybody loved. In course of conversation with Mrs. E., he told her that he thought I ought to have taken the course Mr. Reid had taken, to have yielded to them so that we could have remained. She said she stamped her foot at him, a thing she would never have dared to do under other circumstances. Said she, "Father Kingsbury, I cannot hear such talk. My husband has fled, and I approve his course." He apologized and said no more on the subject. At Doaksville, by some pressure, she raised some more money that was due me.

Saturday they went to Spencer Academy, our first station, where our son had been born. There they were most kindly entertained through the Sabbath by Mr. Reid and other beloved fellow missionaries. While there they had a visit from Henry Clay, a member of the Council. He was the son of Ahokliubi, the first Choctaw who learned to read his own language, who had afterward risen to the rank of a District Chief. He wanted Mrs. E. to return to Wheelock and have me come back and visit the council, assuring her that he thought that arrangements could be made for us to remain. But she thought it not best. His name was given me as one committee who had come to Wheelock to watch for me. I can hardly believe that it was correct. If it was, the aim of the visit to Spencer was to entrap me.

Monday they started further on their journey for Lenox. Monday and Tuesday nights they camped out. The road was rough as they had the "Seven Brothers Mountains" to

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citizens in the vicinity of Wheelock Academy where the Rev. John Edwards served as superintendent in 1861. Jefferson Gardner's home referred to as "the old Governor's Mansion," erected in the latter part of the 1880's at the court grounds of Eagle County, Choctaw Nation, is still seen on its original site west of the bridge on the Mountain Fork River, U.S. Highway 70, McCurtain County. Edmond J. Gardner of Valliant in McCurtain County, was the son of Jerry Gardner who had come with his brothers from Mississippi in 1832. It was Edmond J. Gardner who gave the Editor (M.H.W.) a first copy of this story, "My Escape from the South" written by the Rev. John Edwards about 1902 after he left the Indian Territory.

cross.[22] Nothing of special interest occured on the way, save that on Tuesday night they heard the whining of bears. Mr. Libby who slept on the ground while Mrs. E. and the children occupied the wagon, drove them off with firebrands.

They reached Lenox about the middle of the afternoon, Dr. and Mrs. Hobbs having decided to leave, the people gathered in large numbers at Lenox. On the second Sabbath that I was there, we were many of us sitting on the missionary's piazza, a discussion arose about the missionaries leaving. The ruling elder who introduced the subject said that in his testament he read this: "I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep." (John 10-13) "Now in view of that, is it right for the missionaries to leave their flock out here in the wilderness?"

In the course of the discussion which followed, another elder replied that he read in the Testament that Christ said to his brother, " 'I go not yet up to this feast, because my time is not yet full come.' Now that may be the case with these missionaries, that their time is not yet full come, and so it is right for them to get out of the way of danger."

I was much interested as it showed that these men had read their Choctaw testaments to some good purpose. When the rest had expressed their mind as far as they wished I told them that the morning after the visit of the Texans to me, at family prayers I had read the first part of the 10th chapter of John, and felt almost as though it would condemn me if I left. But evening prayers, after my return home from Pine Ridge and Doaksville, I had read the latter part of the same chapter, which told that, "They sought to

[23]The "Seven Brothers Mountains" (or "Seven Devils") is rough mountain country with several high elevations or peaks in southeastern Pushmataha County, west of Little River and south of Cloudy Creek (T. 3 & 4 S., R. 19 & 20 E.). Mrs. Edwards' party evidently went by the road from Doaksville to Spencer Academy, thence north through the west edge of "Seven Brothers" along the old Fort Towson Military Road that crossed Hurd Creek east of present Clayton and Kiamichi River, just south of Tuskahoma, traveling east past present Albion to Lenox Mission, northwest of present Whitesboro, LeFlore County. Mr. Edwards had traveled horseback up Glover Creek (according to Peter J. Hudson's account in 1934) to its source, thence by a winding trailways via present Ludlow, in LeFlore County, and north over the Kiamichi Mountain, crossing the Kiamichi River south of present Whitesboro, and then on to Lenox Mission.

take him, but he escaped out of their hand and went away again beyond Jordan," So we were but following Christ's own example. Again when the Jews at Damascus took council to kill Saul of Tarsus (Paul), and watched the gates day and night to kill him, "Then his disciples took him by night and let him down through the wall lowering him in a basket," and thus he escaped.

That Sabbath afternoon Dr. and Mrs. Hobbs went to the cemetery to pay a farewell visit to the grave of their babe who had been laid away there. After their return, I asked them from what distance the Choctaws buried their dead there. (They generally bury right at their home.) They replied, "From five or six miles around, and not one is buried there of whom we haven't hope." A remarkable cemetery surely, and a strong testimony to the blessing which had attended their nine years labor there.

Monday morning the people came again in large numbers. Some brought articles for the missionary. Among them was Mrs. Woods, a full-blood Choctaw, the wife of a white man, whose home was two or three miles from the station. She told me of threats which had been made against me. A young man, a half-breed, King Folsom by name, who had spent several years in California, and had returned the February before, had made them. She advised me to leave, going east to the Arkansas line, and take the line road Northward.

I went to Governor Wade, with whom Folsom was stopping, and made inquiries of him in regard to the matter. The situation did not seem so threatening as it had appeared to Mrs. W. As my safe conduct was for myself and family I deemed it safe for me to do my traveling in their company. So I concluded to remain and await their coming unless matters should assume a more threatening aspect.

On Tuesday or Wednesday the Rev. George Ainslie, who had come in 1852 as a teacher at Spencer Academy, who had afterward taken a course at Princeton Theological Seminary and then returned and taken charge of the Goodwater church, and the Goodwater Boarding School for girls, came in company with the teachers of the school; and others who were on their way Northward.[24] He had a visit from a Texas vigilance committee, and had received orders to leave. They started Wednesday. Wednesday afternoon Mrs.

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[24]Goodwater Mission (ABCFM) established in 1837 was designated as a seminary for Choctaw girls in 1842, by the Choctaw Council. Its site is west of the Kiamichi in the region of present Frogville, Choctaw County.

E. and the children, with Mr. Libby, arrived. The horses needed shoeing so with George I took them immediately over to Mr. Woods, who had a blacksmith shop, to be shod. When I got there I saw King Folsom in their back yard talking with their daughter Sophia, who had been in our family while attending school at Wheelock, and had become greatly attached to Mrs. E. generally calling her "Mother." As soon as Folsom had left, having learned that Mrs. E. had come, she mounted her pony and ran him over in hot haste to the station. As soon as she greeted Mrs. E. she exclaimed, "Mother, what shall we do for Mr. Edwards?"

"Why Sophia, what is the matter?" She then told of the threats which King Folsom had made to her in regard to me. He had just written letters and sent them over into the Arkansas District, through which we would have to pass. He was himself going over the next day. I and the other gentlemen of the party would be taken back to our own homes, and there hung.

This gave matters a very serious look. That night after my return we held a "Council of War," over the thing. The upshot of it was that we armed a young Choctaw man, Washington Thompson, with a revolver and sent him out to inquire into the matter. He went to one of the elders of the church and told him the story. He promised to look into it. At daybreak the elder went to Gov. Wade's and charged Folsom with it. Folsom denied it and wanted to know who had told him. "Washington Thompson." Forthwith he came to the station and asked Washington who had told him. "Mrs. Edwards." Then he wanted to see Mrs. Edwards, and asked who had told her. "Sophia told me but you must not trouble Sophia on account of it." He denied it, and said that in proof of it, he would go with us as far as we went through the Choctaw country, and see that we passed without even being questioned." Afterward he said that there was only one place where there was any danger, where there were a couple of stores, about 35 miles from there. He would be there when we passed and see that we were not molested.

Mrs. Edwards with the consumate tact which she possessed, went to Mrs. Hobbs and asked permission to invite Folsom to breakfast. It was granted, and she invited him. He declined but she insisted and carried her point. He ate with us, and with the large number who had gathered to wish farewell to their minister. Thus he was secured. He had eaten with us. He could do nothing against us. Then came the morning prayers. Tears were in many eyes, and Folsom's eyes were not an exception. As soon as practicable,

Dr. Hobbs' family and ours were on the way, Mr. Libby rode George's pony back, which I had ridden from Wheelock to Lenox. Mrs. E. had sold him to Mr. Reid for his son John G. Reid, who afterward became a minister and for many years was the pastor of the church at Greeley, Colorado.

That day we crossed the dividing ridge between the Arkansas and Red Rivers, a branch of the Osage [Ouachita] Mountains of Arkansas.[25] At night we camped in a deserted log cabin in the midst of the forest. It was infested with fleas and bedbugs, yet we succeeded in staying until morning. Friday noon we reached the said stores. Our friend, Folsom, was there. Dr. Hobbs and I went into them to make some purchases. On my return to the wagon, Folsom was there talking with Mrs. E. He told her, among other things, that if he had admitted that there was any truth in the story of his threats he would not have lived to see the sun go down. For the people of that valley were our friends.

A temperance meeting to be followed by a religious meeting was to begin that day at a point a few miles farther on, to continue until Monday morning. The people from Lenox were largely going to it, and had got ahead of us, stopping for lunch just beyond at the foot of the hill on which the store stood, near a branch. So if there were any trouble. We had many friends close at hand. But we had no trouble. Folsom detained us so long with his talk that the others who had started on were a little concerned about us, but all went well. When we first reached the stores a number of painted Choctaws standing around suggested the possibility of difficulty, but they had only gathered for a ball play. So we passed on without even being questioned.

That evening we reached a very beautiful camping place, part prairie, part timber, with water near at hand. With hammocks swung between trees and pallets made on the ground or in wagons, and with hearts filled with gratitude to God for His protecting care, and for the many mercies and comforts we enjoyed, we spent a very pleasant night, enjoying much good cheer. By this time, all our different companies had gathered into one, consisting of six white gentlemen, ten ladies, and four children with two or three Choctaws who had come as drivers, to take some of the teams back.

Saturday we reached James Fork, within sixteen miles

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[25]The "dividing ridge" was the Winding Stair Mountains in present LeFlore County. The store mentioned was probably in the vicinity of present Hodgens near a crossing of the Poteau River. The party was following the old Fort Towson Road via the prairie north of Sugar Loaf Mountain and north to Fort Smith.

of Fort Smith, Arkansas. There we camped for the Sabbath. There some had their first experience in baking biscuit on heated stones. On the Sabbath we held services and much time was spent in singing. There for the first time I heard some of the more recent Sabbath school songs, one of which I remember was, "Shall we gather at the river."

Monday morning we were up at two o'clock, teams fed, breakfast over, and all ready to start at the break of day. In the course of the morning we met a Confederate soldier on horseback, who made some inquiries for some horses which he was hunting.

About nine o'clock we arrived at Fort Smith. There we found that a steamboat had advertised to start down the river at ten o'clock, but they said they would wait till afternoon for us, if we could go on it.We found the town in the hands of the Confederates, under the command of General Wheloch. He was absent. He had learned that John Ross, the Cherokee chief, who was elected chief year after year for forty years, was a union man, and was intending to carry the Cherokee Nation into the Union ranks. He had gone out with a regiment of soldiers to bring him to terms. Capt. Sparks was in command of the town. It was necessary for us to dispose of our team and wagon. The Captain offered me $300 in Arkansas script for them. But I thought I had no use for Arkansas script, so I sold the $525 team and outfit for his brother, Mitchell Sparks for $250 in gold. The money I entrusted to one of the Choctaw drivers to take back to Mr. Reid to help others get away. I never heard further of it.

The ladies of the party were entertained by other ladies at the hotel with questions and discussions as to where we came from, where we were going etc. Ladies who were there informed us that Memphis was shut up tight, that we could not get North that way. Mrs. E. put on a bold face and informed them that we had good friends in Memphis and New Orleans, and so we could stay in either place if necessary. We six gentlemen were taken before the Mayor and put on parole as prisoners of war, binding us not to give aid and comfort to the North or its army, nor our presence or influence.

Then we were ready to take passage for Little Rock, with our certificate of parole to show in case of necessity. Wednesday or Thursday we reached Little Rock where we had to change boats and had to wait from morning to evening before starting for Memphis. I dined with the widow of Rev. Joshua Green who had been the pastor of the Presbyterian church when we spent a Sabbath there on our way to the

Choctaw Nation ten years before. At the head of the table was a Mr. Worthing, a lawyer. He said he had been a Union man up to the time of Lincoln's proclamation calling for volunteers, "But now," said he, "if they wish to conquer us they must exterminate us."

On board the boat we had a call from Dr. and Mrs. Dodge with whom we had stopped from Friday till Tuesday on our way to the Choctaws in 1851. He told of the visit of the vigilance committee to his drug store. He was from New England and had been a missionary to the Cherokees, but had finally settled in Little Rock. The committee asked him his sentiments. "Gentlemen," said he, "I have lived among you for twenty-five years, and if you don't know my sentiments, it is not worth while for me to tell you. If you wish to destroy my property, it is a very easy thing for you to do. If you wish to take my life, it requires no bravery on the part of twenty-five armed men like you to take the life of a little unarmed man like me. But my property was made here, my children were born here, and here I am going to stay."

And there he stayed. When the Government troops marched into Little Rock late in the war his store was the only store open. He told the story of his wife and himself learning how to shoot revolvers, as a protection from the Arkansas Soldiery who were quartered there. The ladies in general were learning. At first he and Mrs. D. took the head of a barrel for their target. He had always thought it strange that a man with large an object as a man to shoot at should fail to hit him with the ball of a revolver. After a few trials by Mrs. D. and himself they found that a barrel was not large enough. They then took the side of the barn that they might be sure of something.

While awaiting the boat's departure a company of the third regiment of Arkansas volunteers, Col. Rust's, came aboard and occupied the lower deck. They were on their way to Virginia, they were from Hot Springs County, and were a rather tough looking set. At evening we started. At Pine Bluffs another company came aboard. They were from the region of Tulip, Dallas County. One was a Mr. Goodloe Patillo, by whom and his brother, merchants, I had been entertained in 1857, while in attendance upon a meeting of the Synod of Arkansas at Tulip. He had married a Miss Edwards from North Carolina. Another was a son of Mr. Bullock, by whom Mr. Rev. Cyrus Byington and I and old Mishomtabe, an elder and another Choctaw who had fallen in with us on his way to the Choctaw country in Mississippi for a visit, had been most hospitably entertained the night

before the meeting of the Synod and who accompanied us to it. In the fall of 1859, Mrs. E. and the children and myself had been entertained by him and his family for a night while returning to the Choctaw country. He was a wealthy planter. Mr. Patillo told me that their company of ninety men represented a property of $3,000,000. He said that he had been a union man up to the time of Lincoln's proclamation. "As for the doctrine of secession, I am a rebel."

I told Mr. P. that I had thought of coming directly across the state by team to Little Rock or Pine Bluffs. "It is very well that you did not," said he, "You would have been stopped at every little town, and would have had to show your papers, and even then it is by no means certain that you would have come through safely. Here at Pine Bluffs many have been sent off North, and many have disappeared. Nobody knowing what has become of them."

So kind Providence had led us in ways we knew not. The company was dressed in rather fanciful ways, and many carried a large "Arkansas toothpick." The company occupied the upper deck; the men became thirsty at night and we occupied ourselves in passing water up to them. We gathered up what testaments we had in our party and distributed them among them. Among the officers I remember a Lieut. Butler. It was sad indeed to see those men on their way to war to kill and be killed in a strife brought about by men who felt that power was slipping out of their hands, and that eventually they might find their cherished institution of slavery hemmed in and finally destroyed. George got among the men in the forward part of the boat. They asked him what he was. He told them he was a Lincoln man.

Sunday morning early we arrived at Memphis and were soon at a hotel the best in the place, to spend the day. When we had washed and were ready for breakfast, we started downstairs. At the foot, we found several of the officers. With very thoughtful courtesy they had waited for us. Lieutenant Butler gave Mrs. E. his arm, as did other officers to other ladies. Thus they escorted us into the dining room. Of course we were "alright." We attended church and heard Dr. Steadman preach. The congregation seemed quite thin. The Sabbath was spent quietly. Next morning we took the train for Louisville. Among the passengers were Confederate officers. One of them most bitterly denounced Louisville, because the City had "voted for coercion." He said it ought to be razed, utterly destroyed.

At the Kentucky line, we found Confederate soldiers encamped. Night had already come on when we reached Bowling Green. There we first saw the stars and stripes

floating in the breeze. Ah! but that flag did look good. Never before had it looked so good as then, when for some weeks we had seen only the stars and bars. It has never since lost the value which attached it to them. We felt free, we could speak above a whisper. Miss McBeth [and Mrs. Edwards] were out doing some shopping. They came to a large flag hanging over the street. "Stop Sue," said Mrs. E., "Let me get a breath wafted by that glorious old flag."

"Come," said Miss M., "don't you see those men watching us?"

"I don't care for men or mortal where that flag does float," was the reply.

From Louisville we took a boat up the Ohio River to Madison, Ind., and thence went to Hanover College to visit Dr. Wood, the President, and Mrs. W. with whom Mrs. E. had become intimately acquainted several years before while stopping a year in Philadelphia for her health. We had an exceeding pleasant visit. But I was astonished at the Dr.'s views of the state of things in the South. His idea was that the Union sentiment was so strong there that 75,000 men would walk right through the South. I knew better than that. My idea was that neither could the North conquer the South, nor the South conquer the North. Three millions of people in a country such as we possessed are invincible by any force the enemy can send against us." In subsequent discussions with my brother George, he remarked that "in these days of war, the last dollar wins." "Well," said I, "if the people will furnish the Government a million men and the money that is needed they may be able to carry it through."

Our next move was to Parkersburg, Virginia, where we saw soldiers just in from the battle of Rich Mountain. Thence we crossed the river to Belprie, Ohio, to make a visit to Mrs. Lucy Byington. There we were detained a week or more by Clara's sickness. When she recovered sufficiently, we went on to Bath, New York. At Buffalo I hunted up Sherman Rogers, one of the playmates of my boyhood. He told me that after the battle of Bull Run he felt the shock of the news more than had ever been the case except when he got the news of the death of his brother, Robert, in California.

Arriving in Bath, we were most cordially welcomed by Mother and brothers and sisters and their families. That day a letter came which I had left unfinished when I fled from Wheelock. Mrs. E. had added to it, "John has fled and I am proud of him," and mailed it. It was the last mail communication for four years. Mr. Libby was compelled

to enter the rebel army. He was mostly employed about the wagon train service. Sometimes he had to go into the ranks and fight. But he said that no Union soldier was ever harmed by a bullet from his gun. After the war was over he died at Wheelock. A very kind Providence watched over me and mine, and ordered things very greatly for our good. Forever be praised God's name.

About thirty years later, being at Sulphur Springs (Alikchi) in the Choctaw country, I saw a tall man encamped there evidently in poor health.[26] I thought I would call to see him but was otherwise so occupied that I was nearly ready to return without having done so when I heard Alec Durant, with whom I was stopping, speak of Col. Caudle. "Col. Caudle," said I, "Is that J. H. Caudle?" "I don't know his initials, but they call him Caudle." "Well," said I, "I am going to see him."

I found my old friend of the vigilance committee. We had a long talk over matters. He was glad the war was over, glad it ended as it did, glad that the slaves were free. He had fought through it as a Colonel of a Texas regiment. During the Banks expedition up Red River, he had been ordered to take certain position with his regiment and hold it at all hazards. He went into it with his regiment 450 strong. They cut their way out with 40. Such is war. I told him if our affairs were to be gone over again, I didn't know whether I would have the grit to tell him what I did. He asked me what it was. When I told of my saying, "You might as well ask me to strike my Mother etc.," he replied, "I give you credit for acting in a very manly way with us."

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[26]Alikchi (from the Choctaw word for "doctor") was the Choctaw court ground for Nashoba ("Wolf") county, organized in 1850. The sulphur spring here was noted for its medicinal properties, a camping ground resort visited by many from Texas and Arkansas even before the Civil War. Col. George Harkins (the elder), elected District Chief and served as Choctaw delegate to Washington in the early 1850's, had his home here after he moved west from Mississippi. This historic site with the sulphur spring just off the old Choctaw court grounds is located in the western part of McCurtain County on State Highway 3 (Sec. 21, T. 35., R. 22 N.).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Index to *The Chronicles,* 1964

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLII, 1964 compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this annual Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City-73105-, Oklahoma.

The real name of the noted Tsali who led the Eastern Cherokee Band to hiding in the mountains during the Removal in 1838

Althea Bass, the well known Oklahoma author (*Cherokee Messenger* and other writings) has discovered an important and interesting note in Cherokee history. The name *Tsali* was a fictitious one given to hide the identity of the noted leader of the Cherokee band that fled to the mountains during the Cherokee removal from Georgia in 1838, as reported by Will West Long of the Eastern Cherokee.

Will West Long was a fine carver of wooden masks like those used by the ancient Cherokee in their dances. He made one of these masks many years ago and presented it to Mrs. Bass who has generously given it to the Museum collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a rare type of early Cherokee handicraft. Mrs. Bass also has presented the Historical Society's collection a number of original letters from Will West Long, dated from 1938-1943, giving interesting bits of old Cherokee lore, as well as his original manuscript written in pencil about the story of Tsali and his real name. The following letter from Mrs. Bass gives the birth and the death dates of Will West Long and other data:

645 Lahoma Avenue
Norman, Oklahoma
March 1, 1965

Dear Miss Wright:

To get whatever information might be obtainable about Will West Long, the Eastern Cherokee whose mask I brought you, I wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Joe Jennings, who once lived on the Eastern Cherokee Reservation when he was Superintendent there.

Mrs. Jennings made some inquiries among the older Indians, and this is what she has written me:

"Mary Chiltoskey has just sent me the information about Will West Long which she obtained from his son, Allen Long.

"Will West Long was born January 25, 1870, and died March 14, 1947.

"Allen Long carves masks which are good, but perhaps not as good as his father's were. Practically all of the old ones who knew and believed in the old Cherokee ways are gone now. Bird Partridge, who died a year or more ago, was one of the last ones. When we lived in Cherokee there were still a few of the old full blood families who practiced a few of the ancient customs, such as 'going to water,' that is bathing in a running stream after a funeral in the family.

"Perhaps you knew Wattie Chiltoskey who carved the beautiful mulehead bookends. He is seriously ill in a hospital in Winston-Salem now. Wattie's family had clay cooking pots that had been used by the family for generations. He is the brother of Going Back Chiltoskey whose wife got the information about Will West for you. Going Back is quite a famous carver himself."

If Will West was born in 1870, he was rather younger than James Mooney thought him to be, for in Mooney's *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees* prepared for the 1885-86 volume of the Bureau of Ethnology Reports, he speaks of him as a young man of about nineteen. Anyhow, we now have the date 1870, supplied by his son Allen Long through Mrs. Chiltoskey.

I hope this information will be of use to you.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) Althea Bass

Mrs. Bass has written her own notes on Will West Long and his story of the noted Eastern Cherokee, *Tsali*, which follow here in *The Chronicles*:

Concerning Will West Long and The Story of Lawini

Will West, or Will West Long as he more often called himself, was born on The Eastern Cherokee Reservation and lived his entire life there. His mother was Ayosta ("The Spoiler") and his father was Gunahi ("Long"), both of them individuals of importance in their tribe, with much knowledge of the history and traditions and religious practices of their people. James Mooney, in his *Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees,* prepared for the 1885-86 volume of the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology and published in 1891, wrote that he was "an intelligent young man about nineteen years of age, who had attended school long enough to obtain a fair acquaintance with English in addition to his intimate knowledge of Cherokee." Mr. Mooney employed him to put into permanent and usable form a large number of Cherokee formulas that were too poorly written or in too bad a state of preservation to be filed in the archives of the Bureau of Ethnology, and provided him with a blank book of two hundred pages for this purpose. Will West completely filled the book with two hundred and fifty-eight formulas and songs, provided it with heading, table of contents, and an illuminated title-page, and grasped so completely what was expected of him that the result was, in

Mr. Mooney's words, "an altogether unique specimen of Indian literary art."

One of the matters of Cherokee history of which Will West had full knowledge was that of the Eastern Band, made up of refugees who evaded or escaped from the custody of the soldiers assigned to bring in to the stockade all the members of the tribe for their removal west of the Mississippi in 1838. Years afterward, when the members of this band had been given legal status of a sort, they lived in fear of some personal retaliation on the part of the United States Government, and were reluctant to reveal the names of the leaders of the revolt by which they were able to remain in the mountain fastnesses of North Carolina.

Having heard of Will West Long as a leader among his people with special knowledge of the history of the Eastern Band, I visited him at his cabin high in the Big Cove in the summer of 1938. In company with an old man who was his guest and who spoke no English, and of his grandson, a little boy of perhaps a year and a half who played with a rattle made from a baking powder can partly filled with pebbles, we sat on the narrow porch of the cabin with blue sky and pure sunlight and the green beauty of that high valley all around us. Extension of the Blue Ridge Parkway through the reservation of the Eastern Cherokees known as the Qualla Boundary was then being proposed, and these people, living as they had done for decades in obscurity and poverty and great natural beauty, found themselves the center of popular interest. I asked Will West particularly about the story of Tsali which was then being given considerable prominence in the news and in the information offered tourists in that area.

Tsali, or Charley, Will West told me, was not the true name of their hero; it was merely a name so common that, in the use of it, the real identity of this leader would not be known. Until recent years, with their status still uncertain and their claims to the Qualla Reservation and some additional lands still not fully recognized, the Eastern Cherokee feared punishment and retaliation, first upon the leaders themselves and later upon the descendants of these leaders. The old man sitting with us, Mr. Long said, was a descendant of the man known as Tsali, and the old man, addressed in Cherokee, confirmed this information with smiles and nods of agreement.

Will West wrote out for me the names of the Cherokees who began the revolt against the soldiers driving them out of the mountains to the stockade. These were *Lawini*

(Tsali), *Yegini,* the wife of Lawini, *Wasidana,* their nine-year-old son, and *Tsudi gua nu tsu gi* (Fork-tailed Bird) the friend or possibly the brother of Lawini, who was making the march with them. He seemed concerned about having their true names known and made a matter of record, now that they no longer lived in fear of punishment and now that so much publicity was being given to the meaningless name of Tsali. Both the old man who sat with us that day and Will West remembered hearing Wasidana tell the story of Lawini's sacrifice.

It is quite possible that James Mooney was never given the names of these four participants in the revolt against the soldiers rounding them up for removal. In spite of his remarkable ability to gain the confidence of any Indians among whom he worked, circumstances were against him in this instance. Less than fifty years had passed since the revolt, and the Eastern Cherokees were still living in fear and in uncertainty of their status when he began his studies of their myths and formulas. More time must elapse before the Indians would feel secure enough to reveal the names of their heroic leaders.

Following my first meeting with Will West Long, I undertook the collection of clothing and toys for the Christmas celebration that he carried out each year for the people living in the Big Cove, and many of his letters to me are concerned with this annual event. To show his appreciation of these Christmas boxes, he made and gave me a dancer's mask and rattle. In his later years he devoted much of his time to the making of masks.

His command of the English language served him adequately in conversation and in oral narrative, where his voice and personality gave warmth to what he said and made it convincing and moving; but in writing, except for copying under supervision such as he had done for Mr. Mooney, he was limited and handicapped. It was, as he said, hard work to write, and it took a great deal of time. But he left this brief account of the courage and sacrifice that gave the Eastern Cherokees their home, and he put on record the names of those to whom they owe a debt of unending gratitude.

—Althea Bass

Unveiling of The Sculptured Bronze of Alice Brown Davis, Chieftain of The Seminoles, Oklahoma Pavilion, New York World's Fair, June 12, 1964

The National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians nominated (1961) the late Alice Brown Davis, Chieftain of the Seminoles, for the honor of a bronze portrait bust to be placed in its outdoor museum, a landscaped area at Anadarko. The outdoor museum of this American Indian Hall of Fame (organized 1952) has grown into a place of national significance where due recognition of famous American Indians in the history of our Country has been made in concentrated grouping, their likenesses in bronze along with their heroic stories preserved for the enlightenment of students and tourists in this part of the West for all time.

The outdoor museum of the American Indian Hall of Fame aimed and built toward beautiful bronzes depicting scenes in the history of the American Indians, to include bronze portrait busts of notable Indian personalities in this history, now has on exhibit among its background pieces two large bronzes (6½ feet in height)—"Howling Wolf Pair" and "Bear and Cubs"—by the world famous Anna Hyatt Huntington, and 13 busts (12 cast in outdoor bronze) by noted artists in sculpture. All the sculptured pieces have been gifts to the outdoor museum exhibit donated through the generosity of individuals and organizations that are appreciative and interested in preserving something of the art, culture and history of the American scene. The Oklahoma Historical Society represented by some of its members and by its Board of Directors has been actively interested in the program work of the American Indian Hall of Fame since its beginning.

The donors of the bronze portrait bust of the late Seminole Chieftain, Alice Brown Davis, were members of her family, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Garrard, of McAlester, and Mrs. William S. Key, of Oklahoma City. This bronze bust (heroic size like other portrait busts in the Indian Hall of Fame area) was unveiled on "Oklahoma Day" in the Oklahoma Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, on June 14, 1964, by Mrs. Tom Garrard, a granddaughter of the Alice Brown Davis. This beautiful sculptured bronze is the work of one of Oklahoma's gifted Indian artists, Willard Stone of Locust Grove, who used as the model his own portraiture

ALICE BROWN DAVIS
Portrait Bust in Bronze by Willard Stone

of Mrs. Davis, a smaller sized bust of his beautiful hand carving in solid mahogany.

A large crowd gathered in the Oklahoma Pavilion at two o'clock in the afternoon of June 14, 1964, including distinguished guests from Oklahoma and elsewhere, with some of the party of the Oklahoma Governor Henry Bellmon in attendance, the Governor himself taking part in the afternoon's ceremony. The President of the American Indian Hall of Fame, Justice N. B. Johnson of the State Supreme Court, presided. Mrs. Frances Billingsley of Katonah, New York, who had assisted her husband, the late Mr. Logan Billingsley in the founding of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko, gave a resume of the organization's aims and purposes for its Indian Hall of Fame museum. Mrs. William S. Key, a daughter of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis presented a tribute in memory of her mother. This tribute was written by Mrs. Tom Garrard (nee Allece Locke) in affectionate memory of her grandmother, Mrs. Davis, and as her personal contribution for the unveiling ceremony:

Tribute to Alice Brown Davis: Delivered by Mrs. William S. Key

Governor Bellmon, Justice Johnson, Members of the Board of the American Indian Hall of Fame, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Alice Brown Davis, whom you honor today as a leader of her people, was the mother of ten high-spirited children. Sixty years ago our mother 'took us to the Fair'—the World's Fair in St. Louis, 1904. My mother took with us a cowboy from our ranch to corral us.

The story of Alice Brown Davis, Seminole Chieftain, is the story of Oklahoma. She was born into Indian country half a century and more before Oklahoma became a state. Her mother was a Seminole, her father a South Carolinian; her way of life was a fusion of this heritage. A tribute to her is a tribute to the distinctive character of our state.

She was the daughter of Lucy Redbeard of the Tiger clan, from which came most of the leaders of the Seminole Nation, and Dr. John Frippo Brown, South Carolinian of Scottish descent, who attended the Seminoles as government physician on their move from the Florida Everglades to the present Oklahoma. Dr. Brown met the gentle girl to whom he gave the name "Lucy" on this famous trek. They were married and established their first home in the Cherokee Nation in deference to Seminole code prohibiting intermarriage.

Of this union there were seven children in addition to Alice. The elder brother of Alice Brown was Governor John F. Brown, for thirty consecutive years Principal Chief of the Seminole Nation. Another brother, Andrew Jackson Brown, was for many years Treasurer of the Seminole Nation.

Dr. Brown, Alice's father, educated in medicine at the University

of Edinburgh in Scotland, wrote in his own fine script a study of diseases prevalent in the territory and his prescriptions for their treatment, medicines made from herbs and roots, the healing qualities of which his Seminole wife had taught him.

Alice Brown was educated in part by private training. During the Civil War her teacher was Miss Carrie Bushyhead, sister of Cherokee Chief Dennis Bushyhead. After the war when the family moved to Greenhead Prairie she continued her education in the Seminole Mission school as did her younger brothers and sisters.

My sister Maye always said that our impressive Uncle John spoke with the combined flavor of Dickens, Shakespeare, and the Bible. These were the books of early Indian Territory. Our mother read a chapter of the Bible each morning of her life.

There were difficult days after the Civil War when the Brown family moved to Greenhead Prairie. A great cholera epidemic came and at fifteen our Mother's life of service was begun as she accompanied her father into the scourged homes.

With a legacy left Dr. Brown the elder son established a store in Greenhead Prairie. The days were difficult but still colorful. Jennie Chisholm lived nearby and became a life-long friend. Jesse Chisholm drove pack-horses over the trail he made famous, which ran west of the Brown home. Once after a great pass-through of buffalo, our Mother told her friend, Mrs. Susie Peters, a buffalo came home with the Brown cattle.

Dr. Brown died from the effects of his arduous work during the cholera epidemic; our grandmother, Lucy Brown, died soon afterward. When the elder brother moved the store to Sasakwa, it was there that Alice became a teacher. And then she was married. On January 20, 1874, Alice Brown was married to an early day rancher and business man of Indian Territory, George Rollin Davis, born in Pleasant Hill, Indiana, and reared in Kansas, his early home in Leroy. They were married in Okmulgee by the Reverend Samuel Checote, a Methodist Minister and Chief of the Creek Nation. Eleven children were born to them, ten grew to maturity, six daughters and four sons. For the most part the children grew up on the Bar X Bar Ranch at Arbeka, Seminole Nation, Indian Territory, a trading post established some years after their marriage by our parents.

When the youngest of us was three years old, our Mother was left upon her own resources. She cared for her children and superintended ranch, store and post office. Specifically, she directed the activities of cook, clerks, tenant farmers, sometimes as many as twenty cowboys, and always her ten children and the stream of Seminoles who came to our Mother as counselor and benefactor. In the latter capacity our Mother was an interpreter of the Indian in the law courts of the white man from the days of the Dawes Commission in the late years of the 19th century to 1935.

Outlaw and marshal, drummer and dignitary, stopped at the ranch and were fed and housed. When one of the children was sick, the doctor was sent for and he stayed and hunted until the child was well. Al Jennings came as an outlaw and many years later when he reformed and was making a political speech in his bid for Governor of Oklahoma, he acknowledged to an audience in Wewoka the presence of Mrs. 'Arbeka' Davis.

Indian Camp Meeting was a regular part of our early life. Our Uncle John served the Indian church as minister for years. Arbors, roofs supported by posts, were built around the church. Under these arbors the Seminoles cooked and ate throughout the days the camp

meeting was held. The Brown camp fed a hundred or so, including Mama's children. Services lasted for four hours at a sitting, and Mama's children were required to sit for that period. If you think the time excessive, the Indian would say "The sun always shines tomorrow." We loved to sing the Indian hymns, although we did not always know what we were saying. At the Indian church service, the men were seated on one side and the women were seated on the other. A new cowboy was always persuaded to take the cook to Indian church. When he was seated *with her beside him,* a solemn Seminole with a long pole would tap him on the shoulder and he would squirm in embarrassment to the smothered delight of cowboys and children until he discovered the reason for his predicament.

We always felt that Mama secretly enjoyed our pranks, although she was a strict disciplinarian, and we were almost always dutiful and obedient. Mama was not demonstrative. She kissed us when we went away to boarding school in the fall and she kissed us when we came home. That was all. But each of us knew her tenderness. Always when the littlest one fell down and lost his mitten and would come in crying from the cold, Mama would say, "Come, give me your little hand." And she would take the little cold hand in hers and hold it close to her and the world would be warm and right.

In a larger sense our Mother dedicated herself to the Seminoles with the same devotion she lavished upon her children. She was the natural leader of her people before she was appointed Seminole Chieftain by the President of the United States in 1922.

The specifics of her career: as teacher of Seminole children at Sasakwa and at Mekusukey School for Boys; as teacher, then Superintendent of the Emahaka School for Seminole Girls; as disbursing agent of Union pensions for Seminole soldiers, as member of a missionary pilgrimage to the Florida Everglades, made with her brother Jackson and other tribal leaders; as an emissary into Mexico, riding fifty miles in a stagecoach drawn by burros, to substantiate a Seminole claim to a grant made by the Mexican government to the old Seminole warrior Wildcat; as an interpreter in the courts of Indian Territory and Oklahoma—all these things pale into insignificance beside the personal quality of her service and devotion to her people. Each morning Alice B. Davis rose early, groomed herself with dispatch, prepared and ate her breakfast, and placed on the back of her stove a great pot of chicken and rice.

She read the Bible and if she were not in court that day the Seminoles began to arrive. All day long they came and all day long they were advised or helped or scolded, and always they were fed. At the ending of her life when the minister from the Indian church came for the last visit with her, she lifted her head and asked, "Have you eaten? Have them prepare something for you."

Alice B. Davis was not elected by the Seminoles; but she was appointed Chieftain of the tribe by the President. True to the precept of the Seminole she had not sought the appointment. Her modesty was almost naive. When she was going to the appointment ceremony from her home in Wewoka to Muskogee, she saw on the train her old friend, the Reverend J. S. Murrow. On this train were her children and grandchildren and friends. "Where are you going, Father Murrow?" she asked. And the devoted old friend answered, "Where do you suppose, Daughter?"

Like her brother, Governor Brown, who one winter furnished provisions and clothing when the annual per capita payment was not made to the Seminoles, she died in modest circumstances at her home

in Wewoka. The date of her death was June 21, 1935. She was 83 years old and her lovely long hair was still black and shining.

The bronze which is here unveiled in her honor is sculptured in heroic size. Our Mother was small in stature.

The bronze portrait bust of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis was dedicated for permanent exhibit in fitting ceremony on the site of the American Indian Hall of Fame area at Anadarko, Oklahoma, on October 16, 1964. Mrs. Tom Garrard officially presented the bronze bust to the American Indian Hall of Fame, and Mr. Paul Stonum, member of the organization's Executive Committee, accepted this beautiful gift to be a part of the permanent exhibit on museum grounds. Mrs. Garrard said in her presentation that the bronze portrait was given in remembrance of her own mother, the late Maye Davis Locke (Mrs. Ben Locke) who had originally been the moving spirit and inspiration that resulted in the bronze of her mother, Alice Brown Davis. A brief historical sketch of Alice Brown Davis compiled from notes given by Maye Davis Locke follows here:

Historical Notes on the Life of Alice Brown Davis

A portrait bust of Alice Brown Davis was created by the Oklahoma Indian sculptor, Willard Stone, and unveiled as a part of the Oklahoma Day ceremonies at the World's Fair on June 12, 1964. This event was under the sponsorship of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians.

In 1930 Mrs. Davis was an honoree in the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame"; in 1950 "Davis House" at Oklahoma University was named for her; and in 1961, she was nominated for honor in the American Indian Hall of Fame.

Mrs. Davis earned these various formal recognitions by the manner in which she carried out the responsibilities that she assumed as the natural leader of her people; appointed chieftain of the Seminole Nation by the President of the United States in 1922; as the interpreter of the Indian in the law courts of the white man, serving with the Dawes Commission as well as in the state and federal courts; as a Christian influence with her people, whether in her chosen church, the Spring Baptist Church near Sasakwa or serving on a Christian mission to the Florida Everglades, headed by her brother Jackson Brown.

Alice Brown Davis was born September 10, 1852 near Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation of Indian Territory to Dr. John F. and Lucy (Redbeard) Brown.[1] Dr. Brown, from Charleston, South Carolina, was a graduate in medicine from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. As government physician, he was directed to accompany the

[1]Dr. John F. Brown was a contract physician to the Federal troops at Fort Gibson though he administered as a doctor to the soldiers from both the North and the South. His eldest son, John F. Brown, served as a lieutenant in the Confederate Indian troops in the Indian Territory, and served as delegate to Washington in making the Seminole Treaty of 1866 with U. S. commissioners after the War. Dr. John F. Brown's Seminole wife was Lucy Redbeard by concensus of opinion in the family. However, Mrs. E. C. Aldridge

Seminoles on their move from Florida to the new Indian Territory, and at this time he met Lucy Redbeard of the Tiger clan, from which came most of the leaders of the Seminole Nation. They were married and established their home in the Cherokee Nation in deference to Seminole laws prohibiting intermarriage. Of this union there were seven children in addition to Alice Brown. The elder brother of Alice Brown was Governor John Frippo Brown, for thirty consecutive years principal chief of the Seminole Nation; another brother, Andrew Jackson Brown, was for many years treasurer of the Seminole Nation.

Alice Brown was educated by private training and in schools of the Indian Territory. During the Civil War she attended school under the instruction of Carrie Bushyhead, a sister of Dennis Bushyhead, Cherokee chieftain. After the War, when her family moved to Greenhead Prairie, her education was continued in the Seminole Mission School established by the Reverend Ross Ramsey, Presbyterian missionary.[2]

Alice Brown was married in January, 1874 to George Rollin Davis, early day rancher and business man of the Indian Territory. Eleven children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Davis. The following ten grew to maturity:

George Lytle (deceased),
Clara Estella (Mrs. H. W. Twinam of Prague, Oklahoma—deceased),
Jesse Edwin (deceased),
Laura Myrtle (Mrs. E. C. Aldridge of Wewoka, Oklahoma),
Eleanor Maye (Mrs. Ben D. Locke of Oklahoma City—deceased),
Flora Maude (Mrs. Madison C. Jones—deceased),
Elizabeth Marguerite (Mrs. V. L. Kiker of Wewoka, Oklahoma),
Irene Genevieve (Mrs. William S. Key of Oklahoma City),
John Frippo (Los Angeles, California),
and Andrew Jackson Davis (Westminster, California).

When the youngest child was three, Mrs. Davis was left with the responsibility of rearing her children on the Bar X Bar Ranch at Arbeka, a trading post and post office established by the Davises in Indian Territory [Post Office established, September 10, 1883, George B. Davis, Postmaster].

In 1905, she became superintendent of Emahaka Boarding School for Seminole girls, in which her daughters received their education before entrance into college, her sons for the most part attending Mekasukey Boarding School for Seminole boys.

She established her permanent home in Wewoka where she continued to interpret in the courts, upholding the rights of the Seminoles and administering to their needs during the turbulent periods of the removal of Indian restrictions on the sale or lease of their

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(Myrtle Davis) has said that her mother, Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, confirmed the name of her Seminole mother as Lucy Graybeard The children of Dr. John F. and Lucy (Redbread) Brown were: John Frippo; Lucy (Mrs. Allen Crane); Jennie (Mrs. James Factor); Alice (Mrs. Alice B. Davis and her twin sister who died in infancy); Andrew Jackson, Robert Graham and Stanton Brown.

[2]The Seminole Mission School was founded and conducted by the Reverend James Ross Ramsey, a boarding school for Seminole girls, established after the Civil War (by 1868), generally known as the "Wewoka Mission" under the auspices of the Presbyterian Mission Board. Its site was about two miles north of Wewoka.—*Ed.*

lands and during the oil boom in Seminole County, which precipitated litigation over lands belonging—after allotment of tribal land—to individual Seminoles and over properties set aside by the Nation for schools and churches.

Like her brother, Governor John F. Brown, who one winter furnished food and clothing when the regular per-capita payments were not made to the Seminoles, Mrs. Davis shared all that she had with her people. Like her brother, she, too, lived in moderate circumstances in her last years. She died on June 21, 1935, in her home in Wewoka, Oklahoma.

BOOK REVIEWS

ACTION BEFORE WESTPORT, 1864. By Howard N. Monnett. (Westport Historical Society, Kansas City, Mo., 1964. Pp. xxi, 190. Appendix, notes, illus., biblio., index. $6.95)

The introduction advises that this book "can be approached simply as a tale of romantic adventure." It can be studied "as an exercise in grand strategy," or it can be read "like a first-class detective story." However one takes it, this account of Confederate General Sterling Price's raid into Missouri in the closing months of the Civil War is first-class fare.

Most Civil War writers are hard put to compete with the flashing phrases and careful research of a master like Bruce Catton. Here, we have one whose scholarship seems more than adequate to the task and whose practiced skill in writing needs no apology. A case in point is at page 64 where Mr. Monnett depicts a cavalry charge just prior to the climactic battle at the town of Westport in the suburbs of modern-day Kansas City: "... as suddenly as the two lines came together, they thinned out and parted, leaving behind a churned field . . . The loud indignation of gunfire paused and the trampled dead lay gray and blue and filthy, their anger gone and their smashed weapons and kicked hats cluttering the ploughed field." This is description at its best and war at its worst. Nevertheless there is pleasure in reading history in the company of such competent eloquence.

The Confederate raid lead by "Pap" Price (native of Virginia, brigadier in the Mexican War, former governor of Missouri) was conceived to divert Federal pressures in the East where Lee faced Grant at Petersburg and Sherman was soon to overwhelm Atlanta. The campaign was launched from Pocahontas, Arkansas, from which Price took 12,000 veterans into Missouri, living off the land and skirmishing with Union detachments. Federal resistance was initially inconsequential but increased as Rosecrans' unwieldy command began to assert itself. The "loud indignation of gunfire" reached its crescendo at Westport on October 19, 1864. It was there that Price's veterans found they could move no farther toward their ultimate goal, the rich storehouse of food and arms at Fort Leavenworth.

Generals S. R. Curtis and James G. Blunt, well known to students of the War in Indian Territory, were leaders in the action. The Union cavalry was commanded by Alfred Pleasonton, lately of the East where he had been deposed

in favor of "Little Phil" Sheridan who was to lead the horsemen of the Army of the Potomac to victory. For the South there were the famed horse-soldier Jo Shelby and the cavalier John Marmaduke, the latter captured in a delaying action at Marais Des Cygnes, Kansas, during the Confederate retreat.

This was no Gettysburg campaign though it too carried the War into the North, and the names of the actors do not have the resounding fame of those across the Mississippi. Even so, as Monnett puts it, the "Action Before Westport" was the culmination of a raid which, from the standpoint of logistics, miles travelled, and number of engagements fought, equalled or exceeded any other raid of the Civil War including Sherman's march to the sea. If this claim seems over-enthusiastic then the reviewer suggests that he is entitled to be excused. It is here predicted you will read this book for pleasure and study it for content.

—Austin Mills

Midwest City, Oklahoma

BATTLEFIELD AND CLASSROOM; FOUR DECADES WITH THE AMERICAN INDIAN, 1867-1904. By Richard Henry Pratt. Edited with an Introduction by Robert M. Utley. (Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1964. Pp. 358. $8.50)

It was well past his eighty-second birthday when in 1923 Richard Henry Pratt dictated to his daughter the final chapter of these memoirs. Still active and clear-minded, he focused a sharp memory, buttressed by voluminous personal records, on nearly half a century of dedicated public service.

To the historian, the story of the American Indians in those critical years after their final conquest by the white man cannot be understood without reference to the large role played by Richard Henry Pratt. The 600 typewritten pages of reminiscences that formed part of his collection of personal papers at his death in 1924 go far toward explaining this role. They are here published for the first time.

The long and active career of General Pratt was highlighted by four years of duty during the Civil War and eight years of service with the U. S. Army in some of the most energetic campaigns against the Indians of the southern plains. He served as a field officer on the Plains in the Washita campaign of 1868-69 and the Red River War of 1874-75. That these years loomed large in his memory is evident, for he assigned one-third of his memoirs to them. It is a significant contribution to the history of the conquest of the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

First and foremost, General Pratt considered himself a soldier, but it is not as a soldier that history remembers him. In 1875 he transported the worst offenders among the southern plains tribes to Fort Marion, Florida, and served as their jailor for three years. Thereafter until his retirement from the army in 1903, he was on continuous detail to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the great work of his life—Indian education.

The crowning achievement of Pratt's service to the Indian was the founding of Carlisle Indian School. Established in the old cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, this school enrolled in the first academic year, 1879-80, more than 200 pupils representing about a dozen tribes. During his twenty-four year tenure the school educated, in all, 4,903 Indian boys and girls from seventy-seven tribes.

History has largely neglected the story of this most remarkable man. Not only was he a great humanitarian, but he was also a man of dignity and principle as seen by the fact that he remained untarnished during the years that the Indian Bureau was riddled with corruption. Years ahead of his time, he was a determined, courageous, selfless worker in behalf of justice to a defeated people. He dramatized the plight of the red man as few others did.

The splendid editing job by Mr. Utley has resulted in a book that is a delight to read. General Pratt saw a great deal, and his attention to detail has filled in many gaps of history. Whether it be the Plains years, the Florida years or the Carlisle years, this is excellent primary material. This is a fine book, perhaps a great one. It is highly recommended.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

A Cheyenne Sketchbook. By Cohoe. Commentary by E. Adamson Hoebel and Karen Daniels Petersen. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma. 1964. Pp. 98. Illustrations: 8 photographs, 12 colored sketches. Price $5.95.)

Volume 75 in "The Civilization of the American Indian Series" is a presentation of twelve sketches made by a captured Cheyenne warrior at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Fla. in 1876. The book is divided into four parts: 1. An Introduction; 2. Life on the Plains-Hunting; 3. Life on the Plains-Ceremonies; 4. Life at Fort Marion-Prisoners of War. The drawings are accompanied by a commentary by Dr. Hoebel and Mrs. Petersen.

This volume is a credit to the University of Oklahoma Press in physical make-up and book design. It is perhaps the most beautiful volume published in this series in many years.

A Cheyenne Sketchbook will be a great disappointment to the anthropologist, the historian, and the lover of the west. It presumes to show through the illustrations, the transition from savagery to civilization that occurred in the artist. The selection of illustrations and the commentary are too weak to achieve this purpose.

Why Dr. Hoebel did not utilize more of his great knowledge of Southern Plains life which he so magnificently portrayed in *The Cheyenne Way* and in *The Comanches* is a moot question. Neither commentator is sufficiently versed in primitive art to contribute to art history. The book is simply written but often unexpected words are used and jar the rhythm of the text.

The Introduction, which is 18 pages long, contains 36 foot-notes that authenticate the text and serve as the only bibliography the book contains. The Introduction also demonstrates the willingness of public archives to produce the needed documents for scholars. This little volume is a must for the lover of beautiful books.

—Carol K. Rachlin

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 28, 1965

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was convened by President George H. Shirk in the Board of Directors Room at 10:05 a. m. on January 28, 1965.

Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker called the roll. Board members present were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

Board members not attending were: Mr. Lou Allard, Judge Orel Busby, Judge J. G. Clift, and Mrs. Frank Korn.

It was moved by Judge Hefner that all members who had so requested be excused. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips and passed by the Board.

Making his report on the gifts and memberships received during the quarter, the Administrative Secretary stated there were thirty-five new Annual Members and one new Life Member to be elected, and a number of gifts and donations to be accepted. Dr. Harbour moved that the gifts and memberships be approved, and Mr. Bass seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Continuing his remarks, Mr. Fraker stated the legislative program for the Society was as it had been two years ago at the beginning of the biennium and any increase in appropriation would be dependent upon hearings before appropriations committees of the Legislature. He added that Representative Lou Allard, a member of the Board of Directors of the Society, was keeping close watch on all legislation that might effect the Society.

The Oil Museum Advisory Committee had met on December 10th for the first time, said Mr. Fraker. As things stand now, he continued, the oil well on the Society's grounds will probably be placed in simulated drilling operation by spring; and surveys are also under way to determine the possibility of constructing an oil museum building.

That plans for the erection of granite markers at the service areas on the Turnpikes to the various Five Civilized Tribes are being developed, reported Mr. Fraker. He added that the officials of the Turnpike Authority are being most cooperative in helping develop this program.

It was stated by Mr. Fraker that if the Joint Resolution transferring four historic sites now under the care and management of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board to the care and management of the Oklahoma Historical Society is approved by the Legislature, it will require a $41,000 addition to the requested budget for the biennium to operate the transferred facilities.

The Administrative Secretary suggested that members of the Board begin a membership drive in their respective communities for the purpose of obtaining new members for the Society.

The Trip to Germany Committee had met in the office of the Administrative Secretary on January 22nd, and had decided that the Journey House Agency would be in charge of handling the trip and all arrangements involved. Mr. Fraker gave some details of the arrangements already made, and added that the agency would provide ten free trips for various Indians and other personnel.

Mr. Fraker concluded his report by stating that as no additional nominations had been received for membership on the Board of Directors and in accordance with the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, he was casting one ballot to re-elect the five Board members whose terms expired with the present Board meeting. Those re-elected to five-year terms were: Mr. Lou Allard, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Judge Robert A. Hefner, and Mr. Fisher Muldrow.

President Shirk confirmed the ballot cast by the Administrative Secretary, and announced that the five Board members had been re-elected without a contest.

President Shirk announced that he was in receipt of a letter from Mr. Jones stating that he did not wish to stand for re-election. It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the Board of Directors not accept the resignation of Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones stated that he had very much enjoyed his service on the Board, and from now on the Tulsa Tribune would try to be one of the best, if not the best friend of the Oklahoma Historical Society as far as publicity was concerned. He added that he deeply regretted having to give up his place on the Board, but he lacked the time to work for the Society in the way he wished. He then nominated Mr. Bob Foresman as his replacement.

Mr. Muldrow said it was his opinion that Mr. Jones should be seated as a Board member, because he had been re-elected, and then his resignation would be accepted if he so wished. President Shirk ruled that such was the proper procedure. As a substitute motion for the one made by Dr. Harbour, Mr. Jones moved that his resignation from the Board of Directors be accepted, effective at the close of the meeting. Judge Hefner expressed his regret and seconded the motion, which was passed by the Board.

Mr. Miller nominated Mr. Bob Foresman of Tulsa to take Mr. Jones' place. Mr. Muldrow seconded the nomination. A substitute motion was made by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle that, as is customary in cases of this sort, the name of Mr. Foresman be sent to the members of the Board twenty days prior to the next Board meeting. President Shirk pointed out that this is an informal policy of the Board, and could be changed at any time at the vote of the Board. He also pointed out there was another vacancy on the Board, left by the recent death of Judge Richard H. Cloyd of Norman. He reminded the Board that in cases of this sort, the person elected filled the place for the full term, and not just until the next election of the Board members. Mr. Miller's motion was then adopted.

It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mr. Miller that Mr. Morton R. Harrison of Tulsa be nominated to fill the vacancy on the Board left by the death of Judge Cloyd. The motion passed when put to a vote.

It was stated by President Shirk that up until twenty days prior to the next meeting of the Board of Directors, Mr. Fraker could receive nominations from the Board members to fill the two vacancies on the Board. Then twenty days before the next Board meeting, the list of candidates was to be circularized to the Board, and they could be elected at the next meeting.

The Treasurer's report for the second quarter of 1964-1965 was made by Mrs. Bowman. It showed all accounts of the Society in good financial shape. It was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Mr. Bass that the report of the Treasurer be received and approved. The motion passed.

Mr. McIntosh reported to the Board on the activities of the Historic Sites Committee. He said there was considerable interest throughout the state in the erection of more historical markers. Mention was made by Mr. Finney of the possibility of erecting a marker at the Boy Scout location west of Apache.

Mr. Phillips, Chairman, reported for the Microfilm Committee. He said that because of a change in personnel, the Microfilm Department was not putting out as much as would be hoped, but it was hoped that by next year it would get under full way, and be filming approximately one million pages of newspapers per year.

The report on the annual Oklahoma Historical Society tour was given by Mr. Miller. He said that he understands plans are to run this year's tour for just two days, instead of the usual three, and that it would go to Fort Washita and Fort Towson on June 22nd and 23rd for the commemoration ceremonies of the end of the Civil War in Indian Territory, to be put on by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

Copies of the annual report on the Fort Washita restoration were distributed to the Board by Dr. Morrison. A copy of this report is attached to these minutes. He reported that on one recent weekend approximately 500 people had registered at the Fort Washita registration desk. He stated that the monument to the Colbert family will be in place soon, and will be dedicated at the ceremonies at Fort Washita commemorating the end of the Civil War in Indian Territory. Miss Seger moved that the Board accept the report, and approve all actions taken by the Commission. This was seconded by Dr. Harbour, and passed by the members of the Board.

In making his Civil War Centennial Commission report Mr. Bass said that because of the ceremonies at Fort Washita and Fort Towson, he felt the tour should be so scheduled as to be at those places for the ceremonies. He concluded his report by announcing the forthcoming joint meeting of the Fort Washita Commission headed by Dr. Morrison, and the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

Under new business, President Shirk announced there were several visitors present at the meeting, and introduced Mrs. Tessie Miller, who spoke about the library. It was proposed that the library be kept open on Saturday afternoons, to take care of the greatly increased amount of traffic of researchers. She proposed that this be done with the help of volunteers, thereby doing away with the necessity of increasing the hours of the library staff. Mrs. Miller volunteered to work for six weeks on Saturday afternoons in the library. She said she was proposing that only the reading room be kept open, and not the library stacks.

Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Library Committee, stated that he would be glad to call a meeting of the full Library Committee to discuss this proposal. He requested Mrs. Miller to write him a letter setting forth in detail her proposal, and he would present it to the Committee, which would report on their decision at the next Board Of Directors meeting.

Dr. Harbour moved that Mrs. Miller's suggestion be put into action, and that Mrs. Miller take charge of the library on the Saturday afternoons for the allotted trial period. The motion was lost for want of a second.

It was moved by Mr. McIntosh that the matter be referred to the Library Committee. Mr. McIntosh stated that he was opposed to an outsider taking over the library without the supervision of a regular staff member. His motion was seconded by Mr. Bass. Mr. Finney remarked that he believed the Library Committee should have complete authority from the Board to decide on this matter. Mr. McIntosh said that he was willing to add to his motion that the Library Committee be given authority to decide the matter for the Board, so that it would not have to wait until the next Board meeting to be settled. The motion was unanimously adopted by the Board.

President Shirk announced that Judge Busby had asked him to present to the Board the following resolution for their approval and endorsement:

> "Whereas, it has been introduced in the Oklahoma State Legislature, House Bill No. 637 by Sandlin, An act relating to the public schools of Oklahoma; designating November 16 of each year as 'Oklahoma Statehood Day'; directing school officials to plan and conduct programs commemorating Oklahoma History and for related purposes; authorizing and directing the State Board of Education to adopt rules and regulations to carry out the intent and purposes of this act; directing the coding of this act in the Oklahoma Statutes system. Now, therefore, the Oklahoma Historical Society does hereby endorse and approve the passage of the above bill."

It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Mr. McBride that this resolution be approved by the Board. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Clarence Batchelor of the Payne County Historical Society was introduced to the Board of Directors by Dr. Chapman, also a member of the Payne County Historical Society. In turn, Mr. Batchelor presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a volume which was a complete fifteen-year survey of all known contemporary documents relating to the first battle of the Civil War at Round Mountains. President Shirk accepted the volume of manuscript and other materials for the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was moved by Mr. Jones and seconded by Mr. McIntosh that the people responsible for the volume be formally thanked by the Society. The motion passed.

Mr. McBride reported for the Publications Committee, of which he is Chairman. The Committee had met on December 10, 1964, to discuss problems involved in publishing a dictionary of the Chickasaw Indian language. Mr. McBride read from the minutes of that meeting:

> "It was moved by Mr. Fraker and seconded by Dr. Chapman that the Publications Committee approve a procedure whereby the Chickasaw Advisory Council will pay all costs for completion of the Chickasaw dictionary manuscript and all publication costs of said dictionary; and that the completion of the manuscript be done jointly by Chickasaw scholars and Miss Wright, with final approval of the manuscript to be made by the Publications Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Miss Wright. The motion was unanimously approved.
>
> It was decided that all dealings will be done through Miss Wright, and when the manuscript is finally ready for publication, it will be presented to the Publications Committee and the Editor for approval."

The Publications Committee also authorized Mr. Fraker to pre-

pare new brochures for sale at the reception desk. These would include one on state emblems, the Trail of Tears, and the land runs.

The Administrative Secretary said President Shirk should be commended by the Board of Directors for his recent book concerning the derivations and origins of Oklahoma place names. A motion to this effect was made by Miss Seger, seconded by Mr. Finney, and passed unanimously by the Board.

President Shirk stated that Dr. Clifford Lord, President of Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, had sent money to be used as a memorial to Mrs. Elmer L. Fraker. Mr. Shirk appointed Mr. McBride as a committee of one to decide how this money should be used.

A proposed television series dealing with stories from Oklahoma history was outlined by the President. He appointed Miss Seger to work with the Oklahoma Memorial Association to further the work of providing material to be used as a basis for these stories.

Mr. Curtis was appointed Chairman of the Legislative Committee by President Shirk. Other legislative committee members appointed were Mr. McBride, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. McIntosh.

Judge Johnson commended the Colonial Dames for having had a bust of Pocahontas made to be placed in the Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians at Anadarko.

It was moved by Mr. Curtis and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle that a resolution of sympathy be sent from the Board to Mrs. Cloyd, over the loss of her husband, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, member of the Board of Directors. The motion was unanimously adopted.

There being no further business, it was moved by Mr. Bass, and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that the meeting adjourn. This was done at 11:55 a.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President
ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

REPORT

January 28, 1965

To: Fort Washita Commission and Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society

From: Chairman, Fort Washita Commission

Subject: Fort Washita Project in 1964

A. *Clearing and Maintenance Work*

1. Approximately fifty acres were cleared of underbrush to enhance the parklike appearance of the site.
2. More than five hundred posts were secured from this clearing operation. These were hauled and stacked for future use.
3. Approximately thirty acres of cleared land were planted with Bermuda grass. A good stand has resulted, and ditches exposed by clearing of brush are now held firm with a good growth of grass.
4. Large trees were trimmed.
5. Entire cleared area was mowed five times; parade ground and vicinity were mowed more often.
6. Ruins were kept clear of grass and weeds by burning with flame thrower as needed.

7. Trash was picked up and disposed of as necessary.
8. Roads and paths were maintained and improved as much as resources allowed.

B. *Additional Work on Ruins*

1. Digging Operations (to delineate known ruins better and discover new ones. A few artifacts were discovered incidental to these operations.):
   a. Foundations in stable area were dug out more completely and stumps removed.
   b. Bachelor officer quarters and three kitchens, east side of parade ground were excavated further to show ground plan.
   c. Three basements of brick buildings near the post cemetery were cleaned out and complete foundation of smaller building exposed.
   d. Several smaller foundations were uncovered. One, near bake oven, was apparently another blacksmith shop.
   e. Cleaned out three latrines.
   f. Dug into circular ruin southwest of two-story barracks. This proved to be a lime kiln.
   g. Dug ten feet into bank at Government Spring. Found water sand which is now dry. Also discovered and rebuilt above ground a rock flue leading from water sand to surface.
   h. Searched unsuccessfully for well and cavern, each reputedly containing cannon and other artifacts. This involved much excavation with no tangible results.
2. *Other Work on Ruins*
   a. Cleaned, pointed, and repaired bake oven.
   b. Continued pointing work on west barracks, especially the South end.
   c. Also continued work of pointing up south barracks.

C. *Miscellaneous Work*

1. Remnant of old fence along highway was removed and replaced by 2,750 feet of cable fence.
2. Secure donation box was installed near registration room.
3. Tool house was painted.
4. Work was done to improve appearance of the cemetery.
5. Toilet and bath were installed in Loper house, as well as the accompanying 5'x7' septic tank and 250 feet of lateral line.

D. *Finances*

The work listed above was made possible chiefly through the continued generosity of the Merrick Foundation. Some funds for maintenance and such items as the monthly power bill were furnished by the Historical Society. Southeastern State College supported the work of the chairman by released time, stenographic and clerical services, and such expenses as telephone calls and postage. Some income was received from the donation box and sale of brochures.

Expenditures authorized by the chairman during the year were as follows:

Labor	$13,363.32
Supplies	3,004.38
Total	$16,367.70

This total is not complete, since it does not include certain payments made directly from the Society office in Oklahoma City and which did not appear on the records of the chairman.

The expenditure for labor kept a crew of five to seven men working from January 1, 1964, to May 9, 1964, while the clearing of underbrush and planting of Bermuda grass was being completed. From May 9, 1964, through December 31, 1964, it was possible to keep two men employed. This does not include any payments to the Lopers, who assist by living on the property and performing such services as selling brochures, raising and lowering the flags, and entertaining visitors generally as well as deterring vandalsim by their presence.

E. *Other Developments of Interest*

1. Since early last summer leaflets prepared by Colonel Shirk and Wendell Howell have been on sale for 10c each to Fort visitors. A number of these have also been placed with the Chambers of Commerce in Durant, Madill, Ardmore, and Denison, Texas, for distribution to tourists. In preparing this brochure an architects projection of the site was ordered. This is large enough to be set up in an outdoor frame so that visitors can more easily orient themselves. Miss Wright is now completing an article on Fort Washita for publication in the *Chronicles*. Reprints of this will be ordered to sell in booklet form to visitors who desire a more thorough treatment of the history of the Fort than that furnished by the brochure.
2. The army engineers in charge of Lake Texoma are completing additional facilities at the Fort Washita landing. These include three picnic and camp sites with tables and fire places, a large picnic shelter with rest rooms nearby, and nearly a mile of hard-surfaced road which runs to within a few yards of Government Springs. A road or path to connect this site with the Fort Washita path will soon be completed.
3. A study, called "Operation Magnet," was recently completed by Hudgins, Thompson, Ball, and Associates. This study, financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Area Redevelopment Administration, covered forty-two counties of eastern and south-central Oklahoma and was designed to (1) "identify and appraise the economic feasibility of specific tourism projects" and (2) "assist private and public groups in implementing the findings of the studies. . ." The Durant Chamber of Commerce assisted in urging the selection of Fort Washita as the featured project for the Texoma region. As a result, the Director of Planning for the architects has informed the Commission that Fort Washita "will be the only project featured for this area in our report." However, specific information as to how this will assist in the restoration of the Fort has not yet been forthcoming.
4. At the request of Congressman Carl Albert, the National Park Service is re-studying Fort Washita to determine its eligibility for inclusion in the Registry of National Historic Landmarks. William E. Brown, regional historian for the National Park Service, visited Fort Washita on January 5, 1965, and is now preparing his report for consideration by the designated government agencies. The final decision is made by the Secretary of the Interior. If the Fort is recommended for inclusion in the Registry, it is possible that avenues of financial assistance not now possible will be opened.

F. *Two Requests* (See appendices 1 and 2 attached.)

1. The Mary Quisenberry Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Durant, have requested that the re-

mains of C. B. Kingsberry, Confederate veteran, be reinterred in the Post Cemetery. Kingsberry served with Company F of the First Mounted Rifles, Arkansas, C. S. A., was postmaster at Colbert, Chickasaw Nation, in 1881, and later served as county judge of Panola County, Chickasaw Nation. At present, the private cemetery where Kingsberry lies has become a cow lot and all tombstones except his have been broken or carried away. We need to answer this request one way or the other as soon as possible.

2. The owner of an abandoned boat dock on the Fort Washita property at the time of purchase by the Historical Society has inquired as to whether the Commission will pay him $1,000 for this item. He has no legal claim on the Society but perhaps some reply should be made to his inquiry.

G. In closing, the chairman realizes that all we hoped has not been accomplished, but believes that acceptable progress has been made. The Fort site should be in a condition for which we need not be ashamed when the proposed dedication ceremonies take place on June 22, 1965. We hope all members of the Commission as well as all directors of the Society can be present on that date.

Respectfully submitted,

James D. Morrison,
Chairman

APPENDIX I

December 4, 1964

The Fort Washita Commission
Durant, Oklahoma

Gentlemen:

The Mary Quisenberry Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution wish to know if you will grant permission for the reburial of a Civil War veteran in the cemetery at Fort Washita. The veteran was C. B. Kingsberry, a relative of Cyrus Kingsberry, the missionary to the Indians.

C. B. Kingsberry was the first postmaster at Colbert, Oklahoma, appointed by the Federal Government (1881). He also served as the judge of Panola county during territorial days.

A daughter lives in Durant, and is a member of a prominent Chickasaw Indian family. Her husband, the late Green Thompson of Durant, was a member of a well-known Choctaw family.

Mrs. Thompson is very eager to have her father's body moved to the Fort Washita cemetery. The old family burying ground where it lies (about two and one half miles from Fort Washita) has been turned into a cow lot; and the only tombstone marker that has not been broken or carried away is that of C. B. Kingsberry. It has been knocked down, however.

The Mary Quisenberry Chapter is much interested in this reburial and has the full approbation of Mrs. Thompson for making all of the arrangements concerning the matter. She is advancing in years, and she cannot attend to the details herself.

Sincerely,

Floy Perkinson Gates
Public Relations Chairman
Mary Quisenberry Chapter
Daughters of the American
Revolution

Enclosure: Military Discharge

APPENDIX II

28 September, 1964
Fort Washita Commission
James D. Morrison, Chairman
Station A, Box 83
Durant, Oklahoma

Dear Sirs:

I regret that I have not written sooner about the boat dock located at Fort Washita. I have been trying to get the time to call on resort owners to try to sell the dock to them, but through a loss of $25,000 on the fishing camp, I have been working to stay out of bankruptcy. Selling the boat dock for scrap metal will not bring much.

The man who has been down and looked at the dock wants it if they get a resort location at Lake Eufaula. I priced it to him at $1,000. I talked with Dr. James Morrison at Durant and he spoke of buying the dock and steel cable. If the Fort Washita Commission wants to buy it at this price, let me know.

Sincerely,

William O. Terrell
1428 Hamilton
Pampa, Texas

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FOURTH QUARTER, 1964

LIBRARY

The Log Cabin Cook Book—Edna Eaton Wilson

List of Cartographic Records of the General Land Office—
Laura E. Kelsey

Magazine: Foundation of North American Indian Culture: North Dakota . . . Today and Tomorrow

Photostat copy of letter from Grant Foreman to John H. Melton, Stillwater, regarding site of the Battle of Round Maintains.

Photostat of statement of Mrs. Hildegarde Moore Harris, a fullblood Otoe allottee.

Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

North Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolution, War of 1812 *and Indian Wars, Vols.* 7, 9, 10—Annie Walker Burns

Historical Statistics of Harlan County, Kentucky—
Annie Walker Burns

Donor: Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D. C., through Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

Reveille in Washington—Margaret Leech

Donor: United Daughters of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis Chapter #2255 through Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City

Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi—
James L. Nichols

History of Kent County, Michigan—Charles C. Chapman Company

Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City, in behalf of United Daughters of the Confederacy Jefferson Davis Chapter #2255.

The Church of Tomorrow (A 75th Anniversary Historical Scrapbook of the First Christian Church of Oklahoma City)—
Edited by L. C. Mersfelder

4 copies of the *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*
Donor: Mrs. W. King Larimore, Oklahoma City

The Ancestors of Richard Allan Moore and Calvin Cooper Moore—Robert Allan Moore and Ruth Miller Moore
Donor: Robert Allan Moore, Brooklyn, New York

1840 Microfilm Census of Pennsylvania (Adams-Berks Counties)
Donor: Mrs. R. E. Black, Oklahoma City

1840 Microfilm Census of Kentucky (Logan-Muhlenberg Counties)
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Roy Crowdus, Oklahoma City

1880 Microfilm Census of Missouri (City of St. Louis-Scotland County)
1860 Microfilm Census of Texas (Smith-Upshur Counties)
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Followwill, Oklahoma City

Bivin-Bivins Genealogy Report, September, 1965—O. K. Bivins
Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City

Illustrated Catalogue of Oil and Artesian Well Supplies Manufactured by the Oil Well Supply Company, Limited, Bradford and Oil City, Pennsylvania, 1884.
Donor: Robert Bosworth, Ponca City

2 Original Letters of President James A. Garfield
Donor: Family of D. F. Solliday

Report of the Booth Association of the United States—Columbus Smith
Donor: John N. Booth, Oklahoma City

4 Maps and Wall Charts from the American Petroleum Institute:
(1) Map of the World Showing Sedimentary Basins and Major Oil and Gas Producing Areas.
(2) Science in the Search for Oil.
(3) Distillation.
(4) Transportation Since 1775.
Donor: Robert L. Atkins, Humble Oil Company, Ardmore.

Authenticated American Indian Recipes—Sylvester and Alice Tinker
Donor: Sylvester and Alice Tinker, Pawhuska

Pipe Dreams—Delbert Davis

Two Poems: "The Wild Cat" and "Evening in the Hills"—Delbert Davis
Donor: Delbert Davis, Wellston

R. A. Sneed Collection of books, pamphlets and correspondence.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Indian Voices, September 1964, December 1964, February 1965
Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor

Sterling silver plate inscribed "Hon. F. H. Abbott from Rodman Wanamaker Memorial of the First Act by the President of the U. S. in the National Tribute to the North American Indian at Fort Wadsworth Washington's Birthday, 1913."
Donor: Ralph E. Hartenstine, Jacksonville, Fla.

Typescript of article "Broken Arrow Indian Family has Colorful History," by Jo Lynn Green appearing in Broken Arrow Ledger,

July 16, 1964—containing much history of McIntosh family, Creek Indians

Typescript from Thomas F. Meagher's notebook, relative to the McIntosh family.

Donor: Orpha Russell, Tulsa, Okla.

Newspaper clipping: "History of Bartlesville Area Being Compiled" by Elmer J. Sark.

Copy of letter dated January 23, 1963, from Will J. Pitner, Area Director, Anadarko, Okla., to Francis Pipestem, Chairman, Otoe-Missouria Tribal Council, Chilocco, Okla., in re Attorney's Contracts with Otoes.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.

Order approving Sale of Lands of Full Blood Indian Heirs of Ka no chee shu nan, Creek Indian, deceased, to Gertrude Stratton, dated Jan. 13, 1911.

Donor: Mrs. Lee Patrick, Glendora, California

Copy of Bill of Sale executed in South Carolina by Wm. and Patsey Tennent for Nanny, Slave, in the early 1800's.

Approval dated March 24, 1906, of application of Carrie E. Tennant Braine, Choctaw, for removal of the restrictions upon the sale of her allotment, except her homestead.

Donor: Ray Long, Oklahoma City, Okla.

RECORDS: U. S. Indian Claims Commission

The Chemehuevi Tribe of Indians, vs. U. S. of America
Docket Nos. 351, 351A

Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Final Judgment

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, White Earth Band, Leech Lake Band, Mille Lac Band, et al vs. U.S. of America, Docket Nos. 18- and 18-N

Interlocutory Order 18B and Final Order 18N
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al, vs. U. S. of America, Docket 18-U

Order Granting Petitioners' Motion for Summary Judgment
Opinion of the Commission
Findings of Fact

Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma vs. U. S.
Docket No 96

Interlocutory Order
Opinion of the Commission
Supplemental Findings of Fact

Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma, et al
Docket No. 146

Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians, et al Docket No. 15M

Robert Dominic, et al, representatives Ottawa Tribe, v. U. S.
Docket No. 40K

Additional Findings of Fact
Second Interlocutory Order
Opinion of the Commission

Hannahville Indian Community, Forest Co., Potawatomi Community Docket 29-K

Citizen Band of Potawatomi of Oklahoma Docket 146

Potawatomi Tribe of Indians, Prairie Band of Potawatomi Docket 15M

Robert Dominic, et al, representatives Ottawa Tribe, v. U. S.
Order Dismissing Petition in Docket 29K
Order Denying Petitions in Docket 29K
Commission's Opinion accompanying order denying Petitioners' Motion in Docket 29-K

Hannahville Indians, et al Docket 29D

Hannahville Indians, et al., v. U. S. of America Docket 29E
Order denying petitioners' Motion to insert the name of "Albert Mackety" as party plaintiff and granting defendant's motion to dismiss the petitions
Opinion on Defendant's Motions to Dismiss

Hannahville Indian Community et al, v. U. S. Docket 29L, 29M, 29-O, 29-P
Order denying admission of additional evidence.
Opinion on Petitioner's Motion to admit additional evidence

Miami Indians vs. U. S. of America Docket 67
Order allowing attorney's reimbursable expenses
Opinion of the commission

Miami Indians, et al., vs. U. S. Docket 256
Interlocutory Order
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Nooksack Indians vs. U. S. Docket 46
Order allowing attorney fee and reimbursable expenses
Findings of fact in re allowance for attorney fee and expenses

Otoe and Missouria Indians, vs. U. S. Docket 11A
Order allowing reimbursement of attorney expenses

Ottawa Indians, et al., vs. U. S. Docket No. 303
Amended Final Award

Seminole Nation vs. U. S. Docket 248
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Final Award

Southern Paiute Nation, et al., vs. U. S. Docket 88, 330 and 330A
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Final Judgment

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation v. U. S. of America Docket 264
Interlocutory Order
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Donor: United States Indian Claims Commission

MUSEUM

PICTURES:

Powder Magazine at Honey Springs
Donor: Jess C. Epple
Court House, Oklahoma City 1909
Main Street, Oklahoma City, early day
Grand Avenue, Oklahoma City
Cartoon, Watermelons, 1908
Cartoon, Vegetables, 1905
Main Street, Oklahoma City 1910
Color Post Card, Cherokee Strip Opening
Skirvin Hotel, Oklahoma City, 1906
Birdseye View of Oklahoma City, 1910
Ruins of Jones Saddlery Company, January 2, 1911
Grand Avenue, Oklahoma City
The Herkowitz Building, Oklahoma City 1909
Scenes in Wheeler Park, Oklahoma City
Cartoon, Wheat Field in Oklahoma
Oklahoma City Picture Brochure, 1909
The State House, Guthrie, before 1910
Ione Hotel, Guthrie
Masonic Temple, Blue Lodge, Guthrie
Donor: Bertha M. Levy, M.D.
Dr. Charles Evans on his ninety-third Birthday
Donor: Mrs. Charles Evans
Post Office, Alden, Oklahoma Territory, 1908
Mrs. Lola Truitt in Wheat Field near Alden
Lola Pruitt Truitt, 1910
James and Lola Pruitt, September 25, 1910
James and Lola Pruitt
Donor: Mrs. Lola Truitt
Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory before 1900
Harper Hotel and Pavilion Spring before 1900
Harper Hotel, Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory
Street Scene, Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory, 1900
Sulphur Springs Business Section, 1900
Rock Creek, Sulphur Springs, Indian Territory
Grist Mill on Rock Creek, 1900
View from Top of Turner Falls, 1900
Donor: L. L. Shirley
Capitol Complex from the Air, 1964
Donor: Planning and Resources Board

EXHIBITS:

Shell, Casing from Salute of Oklahoma's Round to President Herbert Hoover at his Burial.
Donor: Colonel J. B. Conmy, Jr.
Dress, Worn by Mrs. Jasper Sipes when she was in Oberlin College, 1883
Donor: Gail Sipes Wright
Car Tag, Oklahoma License Plate S P 3821, 1963
Donor: Motor Vehicle Division, State of Oklahoma

NEW LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS

October 28, 1964, to January 28, 1965

New Life Members

Mrs. Lawrence Mills — Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

New Annual Members

Mr. Charles Cheatham	Pawnee, Oklahoma
Mr. Clyde H. Cole	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Henry B. Collins	Washington, D. C.
Miss Mary Laverne Cowen	Hollywood, California
Mr. Howard V. Cudd	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Czarena Wall Erwin	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Mrs. Frankie Garrison Followwill	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Edgar O. Fox	Tipton, Oklahoma
Mr. J. Guy Fuller	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Francis Hesse	Purcell, Oklahoma
Mr. R. A. Hodgson	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. George G. Hoffman	Copan, Oklahoma
Mr. Mickey Katz	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Dr. William Stillman Keezer	Norman, Oklahoma
Mrs. S. P. Lamb	El Reno, Oklahoma
Mrs. Thomas R. Ligon	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Mr. Guy Logsdon	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Miss Aurelia G. Lynch	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. W. E. Mansfield	Walnut Creek, California
Mrs. Thomas P. Martin	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Ioleta Hunt McElhaney	Geary, Oklahoma
Mrs. LaJeanne F. McIntyre	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. John M. Patten	Albuquerque, New Mexico
Mr. David E. Rowland	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Cora M. Schaub	Deale, Maryland
Mr. Glenn Shirley	Stillwater, Oklahoma
Mrs. Ruth M. Stanley	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mrs. Marion Thede	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Golda Unkefer	Stilwell, Oklahoma
Mr. Steven E. Wardian	Meadville, Pennsylvania
Mr. George Washington	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mr. Bill Whetstone	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Thomas Wickham	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mr. Thomas D. Wilson	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Mrs. Harvey P. Wolfe	Tahlequah, Oklahoma

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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Summer, 1965

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Cover: The front cover shows the 12 pounder cannon, Civil War relic owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, set and waiting for the 21st round of the Firing Battery Salute at the Fort Towson Commemoration, June 25, 1865. See "Notes and Documents" for notes on the cannon, under "Annual Tour," 1965 this issue of *The Chronicles*. Photo by Bill Thompson, *Paris News*, Paris, Texas.

RICHARD HENRY CLOYD

*By John E. Luttrell**

Few men in a long and active life have given as much service to their community, state and country, as did Richard H. Cloyd. Born August 9, 1891, in the "Volunteer State" of Tennessee and one of seven children, he moved with his parents, Henry and Lucy Cloyd, to Western Oklahoma in the early 1900's.

In his youth he learned those lessons of industry, integrity and moral and intellectual honesty which characterized his later life. He was graduated from Southwestern State Teachers College at Weatherford and immediately thereafter became principal of Cordell High School. He also taught at Granite. 1914 and 1915 he taught in Lone Wolf High School, being made Superintendent there in 1915. While at Lone Wolf he met and courted Agnes M. Chase, a music teacher in that school, and they were married December 4, 1917. They had one daughter, Dorothy, now Mrs. Tom P. McAdams, Jr. Both his wife and daughter survive him.

He entered Oklahoma University in 1917, working after classes to help pay his way through college. While an undergraduate, Dick, as all his friends knew him, was initiated into Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity and served one year as President of the Oklahoma University chapter.

When World War I came along, he enlisted in the army as a private and was honorably discharged with the rank of Lieutenant. After being discharged from the army he returned to Oklahoma University and finished the requirements for his Bachelor's degree. He became the first full time Secretary of the Alumni Association of the University of Oklahoma which position he filled from 1926 to 1932. During his term as Secretary, he led the drive to construct the Union and Stadium. After stepping down as Secretary, he served several years as a Trustee and Secretary of the Union-Stadium Fund Drive.

While Secretary of the Alumni Association, he attended the College of Law of the University of Oklahoma, and received his Law Degree in 1928. He earned, and there was conferred upon him, the Order of the Coif, the highest law school academic honor which can be attained by a student in the Law School.

While attending the College of Law he was appointed Province President of Phi Delta Phi legal fraternity. He became national president for a longer period of time than any other

* Adapted for *The Chronicles* from the tribute to Colonel Richard H. Cloyd read by John E. Luttrell, Attorney of Norman, Oklahoma, before the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society on April 29, 1965.

Richard Henry Cloyd

international President of Phi Delta Phi, which organization was always dear to his heart. He served Phi Delta Phi as its interman, from 1941 until 1947. After his retirement as President he continued to be parliamentarian of the organization and his long service to it as an officer and as parliamentarian endeared him to the hearts of many young delegates to the International Conventions who rewarded his warmth and friendship with genuine affection.

He served the City of Norman as one of its City Commissioners two terms and was elected Mayor and served two years. He was a representative in the State Legislature from Cleveland County six years and in the following session was made Clerk of the House of Representatives.

He was again ordered to active duty with the army on September 18, 1940, with the 45th division, and served with the 45th until transferred to the 8th Corp Area Headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, Texas. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1942 and a full Colonel in 1944 and was retired in 1951. Immediately after his retirement he began work as Assistant Chief Attorney in the Oklahoma City office of the Veterans Administration. He served there until 1955 when he was transferred to the Muskogee Veterans Administration office as General Attorney and opinion writer. In August of 1961 he retired from the Veterans Administration and shortly thereafter returned to his old home town of Norman and was appointed Judge of the City Court, which position he held until the time of his death, on December 7, 1964. He was a life member of Oklahoma Historical Society and served as a member of its Board of Directors from May 27, 1963 until his death. Burial was in the I.O.O.F. Cemetery at Norman, Oklahoma.

During a long and active life he made many friends among men and women of prominent position as well as those in the humbler walks of life. He counted among his friends legislators, governors, members of Congress and Captains of Industry as well as the grocer, the barber, and all others with whom he came in contact. In extending his friendship to others he made no distinction between men of prominence and the common man. True worth, to him, did not depend upon wealth or position. He loved people for themselves and whether a man or woman was of wealth, political or social prominence, made no difference to him in his estimate of their worth. He had few enemies and many, many friends.

In the performance of his duties, both with the Veterans Administration, and as Judge, many persons came before him unfamiliar with such surroundings and were in awe of the man desire and purpose to find and be guided by the truth, quickly

who was to hear and decide their cause. His warmth and evident relieved any such awe or embarrassment. Young lawyers appearing before him were the object of his special solicitude. The fact that they were not as familiar with trial procedures as their opponents was understood and his guiding hand assisted them in the presentation of their case. His purpose was to do justice between man and man, and not to decide the matter on the relative ability of contending lawyers.

His domestic life was one of devotion and attachment to his wife and daughter and when his daily chore was completed he could always be found at home in the companionship of his family. "In him . . . life was gentle; and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world: This was a man."

Our life on earth is but a short interlude between two eternities. Our knowledge of the one past, consists of our own experiences and what we learn from recorded history. The eternity beyond this life rests in our hope of life hereafter and faith in God that that hope will be fulfilled.

He whose memory we honor here lived in the belief and faith that man's sojourn here on earth is not the end, but that there is immortality of the soul and life hereafter for those who believe in God, and that for those who live and die in that faith "there is a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."

In the Bible we find this solemn admonition, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Whatever task was his he did promptly, thoroughly, and efficiently. He was a perfectionist and was never satisfied with mediocrity. When he put his hand to the plow he looked straight ahead, plowed a straight furrow and did not look back. He revered the past and was grateful for the many friends he had made in his long career of public service, but he lived for the future; what it held for him, those he loved and his country. He was a man of strong convictions and with strict adherence to principle and followed, always, the dictates of his own conscience, and not the opinion of the multitude. Though a man of strong conviction and adherence to principle, he was not intolerant of the views of his fellowman.

He lived by the principle that all men are equal before the law and as a lawyer and judge he brooked no distinction by reason of social position, wealth, race or creed. Loyalty and graditude were among his great virtues; he never forgot nor failed to be grateful for a kindness conferred upon him. It was my great privilege to have him as my friend and be his friend for more than forty years.

THE ENID "RAILROAD WAR": AN ARCHIVAL STUDY

By Berlin B. Chapman

Part I

"In all the history of town and railroad contests, there is not to be found anywhere in the United States anything comparable to the year-long drama enacted in the Cherokee Strip in which four towns, a great railroad corporation, and the Government itself played its part."

George Rainey, historian of Enid, whote this statement in regard to Cherokee allottees and the Rock Island Railway in the opening of the Cherokee Outlet in 1893. The towns were Enid (South Enid), North Enid, Pond Creek (sometimes called Round Pond), and Pond Creek Station (near present Jefferson).[1] The purpose of this study is to explain the controversy, as recorded in archival and other sources, including 65 pages of consideration in the *Congressional Record.*

On May 15, 1886, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company entered into an agreement with the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Company whereby it purchased all of its first mortgage bonds, all local aid which it should receive, and all of its capital stock not sold to other parties, and in payment undertook to furnish all moneys which should be needed in constructing and equipping its railway. Under this arrangement 1,388 miles of railway were constructed, one segment reaching into Indian Territory.

Congress by an act of March 2, 1887, provided for a right of way through Indian Territory for the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway.[2] The right of way was 100 feet wide, with tracts 200 by 3,000 feet for station purposes each ten miles of road. The railroad had "the right to use such additional ground where there are heavy cuts or fills, as may be necessary for the construction and maintenance of the road-bed, not exceeding one hundred feet in width on each side of said right of way." The

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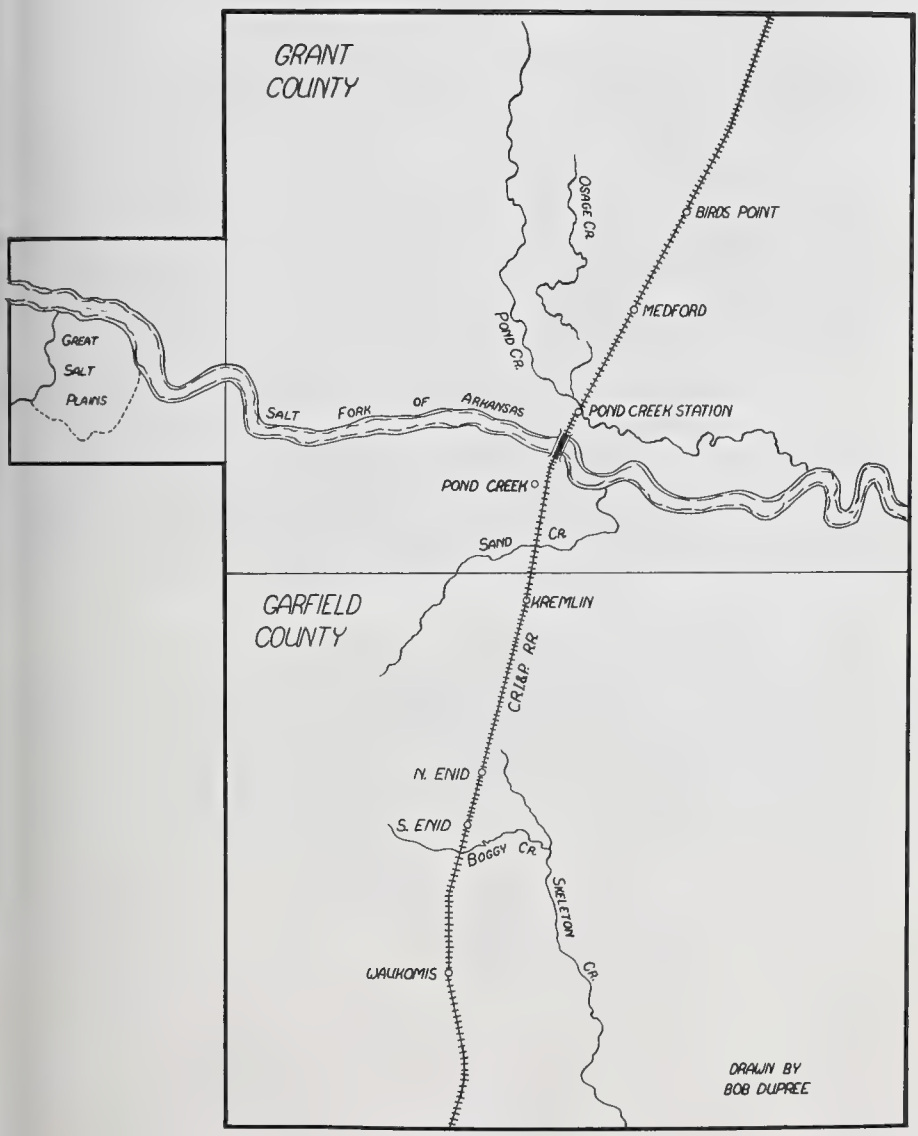
[1] To keep locations definite, the term South Enid is used for present Enid. The name, Round Pond, is avoided because Pond Creek and also Pond Creek Station were sometimes so designated.

For clarification to the reader, and at the expense of technical accuracy, Grant and Garfield counties are sometimes so designated, rather than counties "L" and "O." In the first general election on November 6, 1894, the counties were officially named Grant and Garfield.

[2] 24 *Statutes,* 446; act of June 27, 1890, 26 *Statutes,* 181; act of Feb. 27, 1893, 27 *Statutes,* 494; statement in *Cong. Record,* Feb. 15, 1894, p. 2219; George H. Crosby, *Official History of the Rock Island Railroad,* a typed manuscript of 44 pages in the Library of the railroad company in Chicago. A microfilm copy is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. From 1880 to 1947 the Rock Island was a "Railway" company.

The survey of the railroad route via North Enid was made in July and August, 1887, and was delineated upon a map which was approved by John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, on March 30, 1889. The map is in NA (National Archives) Cartographic Branch, GLO, tube 45.



SITE OF THE "RAILROAD WAR"

act required a payment of $50 per mile and $15 per annum for each mile for such privilege. The length of the road across the Cherokee Outlet was 61 miles. The area covered by the right of way embraced 83 acres for station purposes and 740 acres for the right of way. The act provided that "Congress may at any time amend, add to, alter, or repeal this act."

Construction was completed from Caldwell, Kansas, to Pond Creek Station on July 15, 1888. The track reached Enid and Hennessey without incident.[3] The first train reached Hennessey on October 14, 1889, and brought among other things, the first high grade seed wheat for the farmers. The road was built through El Reno and reached Minco on February 14, 1890. This segment in the Indian Territory was 120 miles long. Construction from Pond Creek Station to Minco was financed entirely by the Rock Island. An irregular train schedule was maintained from Caldwell to Pond Creek Station for several years.

On default of the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway to pay its coupons on maturity, foreclosure proceedings were had, and the Rock Island acquired the property.[4] A deed was executed on April 30, 1891, and delivered at the date of sale, June 17. By 1894 the Rock Island had paid $3,054.50 for the right of way across the Cherokee Outlet. The annual tax paid in full increased the total sum to $6,621.09, which was credited to the Cherokee Tribe.

On December 19, 1891, the Cherokee Tribe entered into an agreement with the Cherokee Commission for the sale of their Outlet lands to the federal government.[5] The agreement provided that not more than 70 allotments of 80 acres each might be taken by the Cherokees who had acquired certain rights to lands there. Allotments should be made and confirmed under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, and when so made and confirmed should be conveyed to the allottees respectively by the United States in fee simple. The commission said that the prospective allottees were "active business farmers and can pay taxes as well as their white neighbors can."

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[3] Arthur W. Large, *The History of the Rock Island Railroad in Oklahoma.* This is a manuscript volume in the library of the railroad company in Chicago. A microfilm copy is in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Large was a General Agricultural Agent for the company. See B. B. Chapman, "Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, Historical Record and Notes," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 103-105.

[4] *Ann. Rpts. of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company,* 1891 and 1892.

[5] *The agreement is in S. Ex. Docs.,* 52 Cong. 1 sess., v(2900), no. 56. See also, "Cherokee Allotments," opinion of Asst. Atty. Gen. John I. Hall, May 10, 1893, 16 Land Decisions 431.

Rumors were heard that in regard to the proposed allotments, extensive frauds were being concocted by whites and Indians, and petitions were sent to the President in an effort to prevent them. Assistant Attorney-General George W. Shields thought that "no such frauds can be perpetrated." John W. Noble, Secretary of the Interior, was skeptical. He said: "Notwithstanding the restrictions provided as to claims by allottees and the amount of proof that may be required to produce, I believe that it will result in many attempts at fraudulent imposition by the unscrupulous."

Congress ratified the agreement on March 3, 1893.[6] The act provided that the allotments should "be made without delay by the persons entitled thereto, and shall be confirmed by the Secretary of the Interior" before the date when the lands should be declared open to white settlement. The language of the act merits careful examination. Representative Thomas C. McRae said:

> The word "by" was stricken out in the Senate, and the word "to" inserted. This, with other amendments, was disagreed to by the House and the bill went into conference. The Senate amendment was finally yielded, and the bill passed in the shape that I have stated, and can not be held to mean anything except a deliberate purpose to allow the right of selection by the allottees.

John W. Jordon, spokesman for the allottees, made this construction clear to Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, on August 7: "But the law does not require you to approve our allotments, or to exercise discretion as to the location of our selections; it only directs that you 'shall confirm' the allotments made by us in pursuance of law. The discretion in selecting and even in allotting the selections is vested in the person(s) entitled thereto and not in the Secretary."[7] The allotting agent was James William Duncan. He submitted a schedule, which when approved on september 7, contained the names of 62 allottees.[8]

In the meantime townsites had become an important matter in Outlet lands. The act of March 3, 1893, provided that before any of the lands should be opened to settlement it should be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to divide the same into counties which should contain as nearly as possible not less than 500 square miles in each county. All reservations for county seats

---

[6] 27 *Statutes*, 640.

[7] Jordan to Smith, Aug. 7, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., 6149 Ind. Div. 1893.

[8] The schedule is in the Bureau of Land Management, *Schedule of Indian Allotments*, Div. K, vol. 68, pp. 73-75. A railroad map dated September 8, 1893, showing Indian allotments in the Cherokee Outlet is in *H. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 1 sess., (3150), no. 27, p. 78. For the record of patents, see BLM, *Patent Record, Okla.*, vol. 108, pp. 1-63.

should be specified in any order or proclamation which the President should make for the opening of the lands to settlement. The proclamation should be issued at least 20 days before the time fixed for the opening of the lands. The Secretary of the Interior was empowered, after said proclamation, to permit entry of lands for townsites, but no entry should embrace more than 320 acres.

Alfred P. Swineford of Superior, Wisconsin, had served as governor of Alaska, 1885-89. On July 6, 1893, Secretary Smith appointed him as an Inspector of Surveys General and District Land Offices, at an annual salary of $2,000. In Washington on the following day Swineford received instructions directing him to proceed to the Outlet and locate land offices and county seats in the proposed new districts and counties delineated upon a map with which he was supplied. He knew that a land office required a reservation of one acre, and that a county seat required four acres. On July 18 Silas W. Lamoreux, Commissioner of the General Land Office, instructed him to locate county seats irrespective of the amount of land.

McCoun Hunt of Leavenworth was a member of the Kansas legislature. He stated that on July 28 in a Pullman car on the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, Swineford in his presence and that of other men, stated that he had located county seats at Enid and Pond Creek.[9] Hunt quoted him as saying that there was some dissatisfaction with the location at Pond Creek, but that it was too late, he thought, to make a change. Hunt added: "Mr. Swineford did not seem to treat the location of these county seats as a private matter, but made his statement publicly, in the presence of the gentlemen then in the smoking room of the sleeping car." Hunt disclaimed any interest, directly or indirectly, in the matter of his statement.

In a report on August 1, Swineford said:[10]

> I have been very careful in locating the county seats on what appeared to me to be the most eligible townsites, principal reference being had to the probable supply of water for domestic and other uses, drainage, and the other conditions deemed essential to the rapid and permanent growth of the prospective towns, without losing sight, however, of the welfare and convenience of intending settlers throughout their respective counties.

Careful consideration should be given to Swineford's account of how he came to select and recommend certain lands as the

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[9] Hunt's affidavit, made Oct. 10, 1893, is in NA, Leg. Branch, H. Bill 3606.

[10] Swineford to Lamoreux, Aug. 1, 1893, *S. Ex. Docs.*, 53 Cong. 2 sess., i(3160), no. 37. Birds Point was five miles northeast of present Medford.

county seats of present Grant and Garfield counties, then known as counties L and O. For L County he designated [the NW¼ of] the NE¼ of Sec. 25, T. 26 N., R. 6 W. He said:

> The other three forties [sic] of the same quarter section, and the NW¼ of Sec. 25, T. 26 N., R. 6 W., would constitute an admirable townsite. The location is on the line of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad near its Pond Creek station, to which point another line of railway [the Sante Fe] is being constructed from its present terminus at Cameron, on the Kansas line. It is between Round Pond on the north and the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River on the south, a watering station for the railroad, with good well water, and altogether a desirable location.
>
> Subsequent to my visit to this point my attention was called to a new station on the same railroad called Birds Point (some 8 or 10 miles north of the location selected), by the railway officials, which they represent as a more desirable point for the county seat; but it was then too late to personally examine into the truth of their representations. But, from a conversation had with a townsite agent of this company named Moffitt, on my way back to Washington, I gained the impression that behind the desire for a change of location lurked a scheme to manipulate certain allotments of lands to the Indians, which I was informed had been made in that particular locality, the understanding with Moffitt being that these special allotments carried with them the right of alienation. While it is barely possible that Birds Point may be the better location, I am not prepared to believe it, and therefore do not hesitate, under all the circumstances, to recommend the location above described.

For O County, Swineford designated a forty-acre tract at present North Enid, describing it as the NW¼ of NE¼ of Section 32, T. 23 N., R. 6 W. He said: "The other three forties in the same quarter, and the northwest quarter of same section, would constitute a good townsite. As good water here as I found anywhere in the Outlet, while the location is as central as can be had, having due regard to all the conditions." Thus Swineford located the county seats. Since the railroad had stations at these sites, they were called Pond Creek Station and Enid Station. Certainly railroad officials inquired of the Interior Department where in all probability the towns would be located. It was necessary for them to know in advance so that they might be prepared, with a view of stopping trains loaded with lumber and other supplies sent in advance of the land opening. Prospective settlers might well expect townsites to be located at the stations.

After Lamoreux received Swineford's report, he delayed action thereon until the allotment schedule was received. The schedule showed that the following allottees had taken 80 acres each at Pond Creek Station: Joel L. Baugh, Annie Wilkerson, and Dave Wilkerson. The last two allottees named, selected the NW¼ of Section 25 which Swineford included in lands for "an admirable townsite." Allottees who took lands at Enid Station were Jacob Guthrie, Sarah Riley, Ruth Rileey, and Polly Ann Riley. The last named allottee selected a tract in the NW¼ of

Section 32 which Swineford included in lands for "a good townsite." In congressional debate it was asserted that one allottee at Enid Station resided on the land he selected. According to George Rainey, there were no Cherokees living along the line of the Rock Island Railway in the Cherokee Outlet.[11] At any rate a total of 560 acres were taken in allotments at or near the two county seats designated by Swineford.

It was believed by many and claimed by some that it was the intention of the railroad company to have the allotted lands entered for townsite purposes and made additions to those designated by the Secretary of the Interior as townsites. The local viewpoint was well expressed by G. E. Lemon who said that as soon as Swineford had designated the townsites, the railroad company "induced some Cherokee Indians to take their allotments at these stations and bought them out in the same deal. The Indians not even seeing or caring for the land but only for the money the Rock Island was willing to pay for a chance to speculate in townsites."[12]

The light is sufficiently clear to show that Robert Latham Owen, a Cherokee and former United States Indian agent of the Five Civilized Tribes, exercised an important influence in the selection of allotments at the railroad stations.[13] His affidavit, made October 4, 1893, is worthy of note:[14]

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11 George Rainey, *The Cherokee Strip,* pp. 366-386. Rainey lived at Enid and was a student of local history. Jacob Guthrie, a Cherokee by blood, leased land in the Cherokee Outlet and by 1891 was grazing about 3,000 cattle there. He said that he and his family had resided for the last eight years in the Outlet, and had there made permanent and valuable improvements. When he attempted a business venture at North Enid, he was dubbed by South Enid as "Jake-Afraid-of-the-Allotments-Guthrie." See Guthrie v. Hall, 1 Okla. 454 (1891).

12 G. E. Lemon, "Pond Creek History," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944-1945), pp. 452-456.

13 There is a sketch of the life of Robert L. Owen in *ibid.,* Vol. XXV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947), pp. 178-179. See also Wyatt W. Belcher, "Political Leadership of Robert L. Owen," *ibid.,* Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Winter, 1953-1954), pp. 361-371; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949,* p. 1642; Edward E. Keso, *The Senatorial Career of Robert Latham Owen.*

14 Owen's affidavit is in NA, Leg. Branch, HR 53A-F44.4. In this file is a printed brief listing 91 items submitted in relation to the "Oklahoma Railroad Bill." Included were newspapers of July 25 and 29, 1893, announcing locations of county seats at Pond Creek and Enid. Listed also is a "memorial and protest on behalf of Cherokee allottees and settlers located at North Enid, Pond Creek, and Wharton, filed by R. L. Owen."

On December 13, 1893, Owen filed for congressional consideration several photographs taken on the townsites where allottees had located. The photographs are in NA, Still Pictures, HR 53A-F44.4. With the collection is a photograph taken in Enid on January 1, 1894, and filed by Mayor John C. Moore.

I am and have been the trusted counselor and friend of the Indian allottees on the Cherokee Outlet. I advised them to make their locations near the railroad stations on the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads, because of the greater value of such point. When I learned that the Interior Department had sent an agent to select the location of the county seats, I took pains to discover where he located them. This information I had no difficulty in obtaining through several different persons who seemed perfectly well assured; the information was not obtained through any officer of the Rock Island or Santa Fe railroad; and it is not true that any official communication made to these companies by any official of the government was disclosed to me. The public press appeared to be perfectly well informed as to these locations immediately after they were made, as they published the places where they had been made. Neither the Rock Island nor the Santa Fe railroad has purchased any of these allotments.

A F F I D A V I T

This day personally appeared before me Robert L. Owen to me well known, who on his oath deposes and says:- I am and have been the trusted counselor and friend of the indian allottees on the Cherokee Outlet. I advised them to make their locations near the railroad stations on the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads, because of the greater value of such point. When I learned that the Interior Department had sent an agent to select the location of the county seats, I took pains to discover where he located them. This information I had no difficulty in obtaining through several different persons who seemed perfectly well assured; the information was not obtained through any officer of the Rock Island or Santa Fe railroad; and it is not true that any official communication made to these companies by any official of the government was disclosed to me. The public press appeared to be perfectly well informed as to these locations immediately after they were made, as they published the places where they had been made. Neither the Rock Island nor the Santa Fe railroad has purchased any of these allotments.

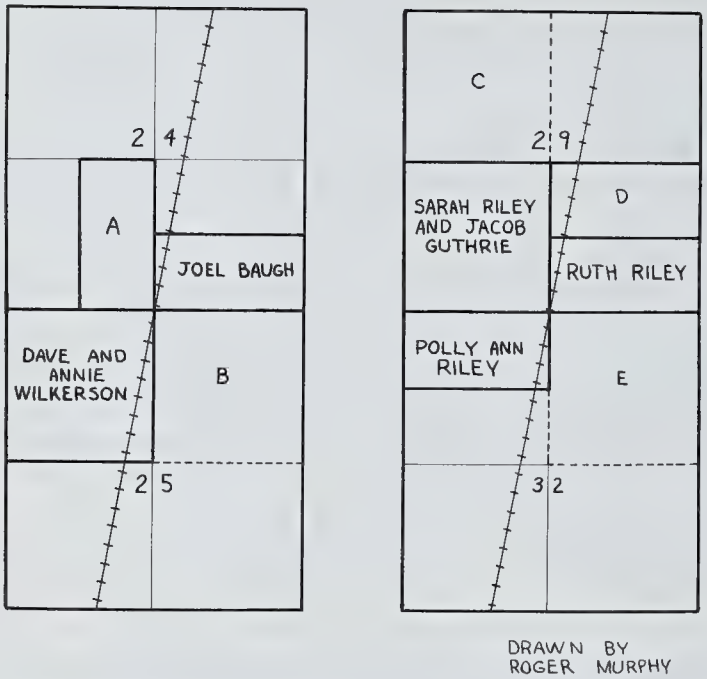
Robt L. Owen

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this fourth day of October, 1893.

J. M. Richardson
Notary Public

My commission expires Nov 16 1896.

ROBERT L. OWEN AFFIDAVIT IN "RAILROAD WAR"



POND CREEK STATION NORTH ENID

Allottees occupied about half the townsite land at Pond Creek Station and North Enid. At each place the Interior Department could easily have designated 320 acres of unreserved land for a townsite. A more difficult task was to select 320 acres elsewhere along the railroad, avoiding sections 13, 16, 33 and 36 which were reserved from such use.

Diagram showing the acquisition of lands at Pond Creek Station and North Enid. Names of allottees are on the diagram.

a. Entered by Walter H. Boyd, Jan. 26, 1894, who subsequently relinquished the land. For a time Robert M. Harrison occupied the SW¼ of the section as a homestead. He relinquished on July 24, 1901. Thereafter Frank B. Apperson entered the quarter section and received Final Certificate no. 8778 on Nov. 22, 1906.

b. Entered by Marvin G. Koontz, Sept. 22, 1893. Canceled by "G" Sept. 12, 1896. Entered by William E. Reeves on Nov. 28, 1898, who made Cash Entry no. 1108 on Jan. 7, 1899. The cash certificate was canceled by "C" on May 2, 1899. Final Certificate no. 66 was issued on June 27, 1899.

c. Entered by Edward A. Newman, Sept. 16, 1893, who relinquished on Feb. 27, 1894. Subsequently entered and relinquished by William Owen. William Brumbaugh made Cash Entry no. 372 for the quarter section on Nov. 4, 1896.

d. Entered by James D. Hutton on Nov. 2, 1893, who received Final Certificate no. 226 on Oct. 30, 1899.

e. Entered by Lewes G. Sumner on Sept. 16, 1893, and relinquished on Feb. 19, 1894. Entered same day by William W. Bevers who on June 26, 1894, made Cash Entry no. 6, under Section 22, act of May 2, 1890, for townsite purposes.

Senator James H. Berry of Arkansas said that there was "some character of conveyance by which the control of these allotments was transferred to a gentleman named Mr. Owen and others associated with him, some of them being citizens of the Cherokee Nation and others not. The party who had secured control of the allotments of these Indians formed what they called a townsite company."[15] Berry quoted Owen as saying that one of the partners was a man who for years located townsites for the Rock Island Railway Company. Berry had no doubt that "a lot of speculators" had got control of the Indian allotments at the railroad stations. Representative Jeremiah (Jerry) Simpson of Kansas said that the railroad corporation "in collusion with this man representing the Indians, have taken up the land around the places where the townsites were located."[16] It was frequently charged that officials of the railroad company were speculating in these allotted lands.

Officials of the railroad emphatically denied that they were "speculating in lots." Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut observed that at Enid Station no person had shown that "anybody in any way connected with the railroad company owns a lot anywhere near the railroad station town."[17] Senator Joseph C. S. Blackburn of Kentucky made the challenge concerning Pond Creek Station and Enid Station broad enough to include the Santa Fe Railroad Company. He said: "There is not an atom of proof in this record to the effect that any official, or any man connected with either of these railroads, ever had a dollar or a penny invested in any real estate in either of these towns."[18] Blackburn said that the officials had submitted affidavits to the effect that they had no investment there. Forty years later George Rainey wrote that no "positive proof" was ever shown to the contrary. Senator William Vincent Allen of Nebraska was cautious. He said that:

> . . . if the Indian allottees were a mere cat's-paw in the hands of the monkey to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for this railroad company, or for some townsite company, and did not act in their own interest and for their own benefit, then the transaction was fraudulent and wrong. The railroad company had no right to engage in a transaction of this kind. It had no right in law or in morals to use the Indians as a means to furthering its own purposes to the detriment of the proposed settlers of that Territory, and when the Secretary of the Interior was informed of these facts, I think he was perfectly justified in removing the county seats to other places.

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15 *Cong. Record,* Feb. 8, 1894, p. 2027; Feb. 13, 1894, pp. 2138-2139.

16 *Ibid.,* Oct. 20, 1893, p. 2735.

17 *Ibid.,* Aug. 1, 1894, p. 8071.

18 *Ibid.,* p. 8073.

Commissioner Lamoreux took action to prevent the government townsites from being "surrounded by lands covered by Indian allotments," and explained the matter to the Secretary of the Interior as follows:[19]

> An examination of the said allotments showed that the tracts reported by Mr. Swineford as suitable for the townsites now named Round Pond, Enid, and Perry had been nearly or completely surrounded by the Indian allotments, the selections for the same having been made of lands adjacent and contiguous to the tracts selected for townsites.
>
> As it was believed that the best interests of the prospective settlers in the townsites would be injured if tracts surrounded by lands covered by Indian allotments were selected, I called the matter to your attention and was instructed and advised by you in the selection of other tracts for the townsites referred to.
>
> As the proclamation had then been prepared for the President's signature and was about to be forwarded to him it was necessary to rely upon the records of this office showing the topography of the various tracts in making the new selections, and they were made only after a careful consideration of the field notes and plats of survey, showing the character of the tracts and of the selections for Indian allotments.

Lamoreux divided the Outlet lands into counties. The county seat of Grant County was moved south from Pond Creek Station to present Pond Creek, about three miles. Thus the railroad station was north of the Salt Fork of the Arkansas, and the townsite was one and a half miles south of the river. The river separated the county seat from four-fifths of the area of the county. The county seat of Garfield County was moved south from Enid Station about three miles to Enid. When the change was made, the railroad company called the attention of the Interior Department "to the fact that we owned no ground for station purposes, except at the old station." South of the county seat, it was seven miles to the nearest station, at Waukomis. The Rock Island railroad passed through the county seat, but there was no other railroad within thirty miles of it.

Secretary Smith construed the act of March 3, 1893, to mean that the allotments were not limited to the improved lands, but he tried to restrict selections to lands adjoining the improved lands. He attempted without success to dissuade those representing the Indians from seeking to select prospective townsites for allotments. With other things ready for the land opening, it was inconceivable that Smith should dally with a score of allottees about the location of their lands while thousands of prospective settlers stamped impatiently on the borders of the Outlet. He said that the matter of confirming the allotments was carefully considered by the Department of the Interior, much time was given to the subject and oral arguments were heard, and

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[19] Lamoreux to Sec. Int., Feb. 6, 1894, *Sen. Ex. Docs., loc. cit.*

written arguments weighed, before he approved the allotment schedule on September 7.[20]

Smith was under no obligation to follow Swineford's recommendation as to the location of government townsites, unless he thought it was wisely made. He approved the changes made by Lamoreux, and designated the county seat of Grant County as the SW¼ of Sec. 1 and the SE¼ of Sec. 2, T. 25 N., R. 6 W. He designated as the county seat of Garfield County the SE¼ of Sec. 7 and the SW¼ of Sec. 8, T. 22 N., R. 6 W. At each place there was reserved four acres for the site of a court house. In Garfield County one acre was reserved as a site for a land office. The proclamation of the President issued on August 19 approved the townsites as thus located by the Secretary of the Interior. Smith said:[21]

> Believing that the settlers should have a fair chance to select town lots, and that purchasers of Indian allotments ought not to be permitted to speculate at the expense of settlers, I could not consent to approve the allotments at places where townsites were located. Two remedies were open; one to reject the allotments, the other to locate townsites at places distant from the points where the land had been selected for the Indian allotments. The rejection of the selections which had been made by the Indians was calculated to cause delay in opening the land to settlement. A carefully prepared profile of the localities satisfied experts in the General Land Office that the townsites could be located at points several miles distant from the proposed allotments without detriment to the townsites. I thereupon approved the allotments, but fixed the places for townsites in such a way as to defeat, if possible, the schemes of those who were speculating in Indian allotments.

Smith's action raised the question as to his motive for thus locating the townsites. He knew that prospective settlers were retained on the border of the Outlet until the opening on September 16, and would have no part in locating county seats until after settlement was made. Did he try to promote their interests, as against those of allottees who had statutory right of priority, acquired by cash purchase? The white settler and his assignee were as likely to speculate as the Indian.[22] They were as apt to

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20 Smith to Att. Gen., May 21, 1894, NA, Int. Dept., *Record of Letters Sent,* vol. 81, p. 321; Smith to Thomas C. McRae, Sept. 29, 1893, *H. Reports,* 53 Cong. 1 sess., i(3157), no. 116.

21 *Ann. Rpt., Sec. Int., 1893, H. Ex. Docs.,* 53 Cong. 2 sess. xiii (3209), pp. xii-xiii.

22 The scheme of the Cherokee Co-operative Townsite Company of Wichita, Kansas, to acquire a quarter section at Pond Creek Station, is related by Emory F. Best, Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office. This included the homestead entry of William E. Reeves who proved up, but with considerable difficulty; Reeves et al. *v.* Marvin G. Koontz, NA, GLO, "G" *Letter Book,* vol. 33, pp. 99-109 (1896); vol. 34, pp. 480-487 (1896); Com. Binger Hermann to register and receiver, Enid land office, May 2, 1899, NA, GLO, *Okla. Letter Book,* vol. 71, pp. 269-276.

secure advance information, and be as unscrupulous in their methods of securing advantage as was the Indian. They needed no tender consideration. Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, a former Secretary of the Interior, said the relocation was unfortunate and a mistake.[23] But he valued consistency and said that where the townsites were finally located, there they should remain.

Several years before the Rock Island built a road down the Chisholm Trail, there was a stage station called "Pond." At that place the railroad established a station. By 1874 Skeleton Ranch had become a stage station on the trail. There the railroad located Skeleton Station, and the site became known as North Enid. Railroad men were shrewd in business. They could see as far forward as any other class of people, and nothing is more logical than to believe that in laying out the route across the Outlet, they selected for stations what in their judgment, would in the future prove to be the best places for business. These were proper sites for towns, and Swineford recommended them in his report. Yet, the final locations for townsites were made in Washington, with no on-the-site inspection as such. As stated above, the county seat of Grant County was moved toward the south edge of the county, not north toward the central part at present Medford, where the railroad wanted it, and where it is today.

Reasons for the original locations were clearly set forth in an affidavit on August 31, 1893, by Robert W. Day, Civil Engineer for all lines of the railroad west of the Missouri River.[24] Day had charge of constructing the railroad through the Cherokee Outlet, and carefully selected the best places for locating stations. He said the Salt Fork River was subject to "frequent and sudden floods," was "entirely impassable for several days," and that quicksand was there. He located Pond Creek Station north of the river where water could be secured from Osage Creek and Pond Creek. He said the water there when filtered was good for boiler or household purposes. Salt soaked through the earth so that "no other than Salt Folk water can be obtained for some distance south of said stream." He noted that the land south of the river was "composed entirely of sand, in many places loose and shifting, whilst north of the stream there is a large admixture of loam from the overflowing of Pond Creek and Osage Creek."

Day said that Enid Station was "situated on a smooth and almost level prairie, sloping gently towards Skeleton Creek; that there are numerous and pure springs of water along said creek." He said the government townsite was "situated in a mass of dry

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23 *Cong. Record.*, Aug. 1, 1894, p. 8066.

24 Day's affidavit is in NA, Leg. Branch, H. Bill 3606.

gulches and draws, which render it well nigh impossible to ever build and maintain a town or station at said site."

The Secretary of the Interior had no power to establish a county seat. He could only designate a site for it. The act of March 3, 1893, at the insistence of the House, permitted the allottees to select their allotments. The statute gave them priority over white settlers in the selection of lands. The Cherokee Nation deducted the sum of $1.40 per acre from the per capita share of money of each allottee, because that amount had been withheld by the United States from the Cherokee Nation, as per agreement of sale. With priority of selection acquired by a cash purchase, it was to be expected that allottees would try to locate the most valuable lands, including prospective townsites. Here was opportunity for shrewd businessmen like Owen to try their fortune. Allotments carried a fee simple title. If a town grew, it probably would spread upon the 320 acres reserved for it. If it reached beyond those limits, lots would be sold on the open market. What difference did it make to the buying public whether the purchase was made from an Indian allottee, a homesteader, or a speculator?

An act of the legislature of the Territory of Oklahoma concerning the locating and relocating of county seats took effect on December 25, 1890, and was amended on February 10, 1893.[25] According to the act, any voters in the Territory could petition the board of county commissioners of their county to call an election to determine the location or change of location of the county seat. If such petition were signed by two-thirds of the legal voters of the county whose names appeared upon the tax rolls, the commissioners should order an election, with one important limitation named in the amendment of February 10, 1893. The limitation said that where "a county seat has been located at any place," no election to change the same should be held for the space of five years from the date of the amendment. The *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893,* retained a provision from the act of December 25, 1890, stating that the question of the location of a county seat or the removal thereof, "when so determined by a first or second election," should not again be voted upon within the county for a period of five years, unless three-fourths of the voters should so petition. The question could be presented at a general election, or at a special election if notice of at least twenty days were given.

Matters like creating "a railroad law" or establishing a railroad commission were highly controversial in the legislature. On

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[25] *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1890,* ch. 22; *Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893,* ch. 23.

January 21, 1893, James M. Faris of Yukon introduced House Bill No. 2 "compelling railroads constructed near a county seat or other towns to pass through the same." On March 4 while the Committee of the Whole House was considering the bill, "the Committee became disorderly and the Speaker of the House took the chair and dissolved the Committee."[26] The bill passed the House on the same day, but was terminated in the Committee of the Whole in the Council on March 8.

Notice should be taken of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Yakima case, because persons engaged in the Enid affair were familiar with it.[27] In 1864 Congress authorized and empowered the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to construct a road up the valley of the Yakima River in Washington Territory. By January, 1885, the railroad had reached Yakima City, county seat of Yakima County, and was carrying passengers and freight to and from the city. Located there was a United States land office, court house, and a population of 500. Yakima City was the largest town and the most important business center in the county, and did an annual business of $250,000. The railroad built no station there, but after completing the road four miles north, established a freight and passenger station at North Yakima. This town was laid out by the railroad on its own unimproved land. Trains ceased to stop at Yakima City, and North Yakima began to grow rapidly.

On February 20, 1885, certain parties, including Yakima County, petitioned for a mandamus to compel the railroad to erect and maintain a station at Yakima City. Before an answer was filed to the petition, the county seat was moved to North Yakima, pursuant to an act of the Territorial legislature. The Supreme Court of the United States had made it clear that it would never order a railroad station to be built or maintained contrary to the public interest.[28] In the Yakima case the court refused to give the relief requested, but said that the matter was a proper subject for legislative action. Speaking for the court, Justice Horace Gray said:

> The location of stations and warehouses for receiving and delivering passengers and freight involves a comprehensive view of the interests of the public, as well as of the corporation and its stockholders, and a

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[26] *Okla. Territory, House Journal, 1893,* pp. 309-310; *Enid Daily Wave,* July 23, 1894. This newspaper was so generally known as the *Wave,* that the briefer name is sometimes used in this study.

[27] Northern Pacific Railroad Company *v.* Territory of Washington, 142 U. S. 492 (1892); Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad Company *v.* Minnesota, 193 U. S. 53 (1904).

[28] Texas and Pacific Railway Company *v.* Marshall, 136 U. S. 393 (1890).

consideration of many circumstances concerning the amount of population and business at or near, or within convenient access of one point or another, which are more appropriate to be determined by the directors, or, in case of abuse of their discretion, by the Legislature, or by administrative boards entrusted by the Legislature with that duty, than by the ordinary judicial tribunals.

Justice David J. Brewer wrote a dissent, in which two justices concurred. Brewer said:

A railroad company builds its road into a county, finds the county seat already established and inhabited, the largest and most prosperous town in the county, and along the line of its road for many miles. It builds its road to and through that county seat; there is no reason of a public nature why that should not be made a stopping place. For some reason, undisclosed, perhaps because that county seat will not pay to the managers a bonus, or because they seek a real estate speculation in establishing a new town, it locates its depot on the site of a "paper" town the title to which it holds, contiguous to this established county seat; stops only at the one, and refuses to stop at the other; and thus, for private interests, builds up a new place at the expense of the old; and for this subservience of its public duty to its private interests, we are told that there is in the court no redress.

If there was anything crystal clear in the Outlet case, it was that the Interior Department had set up rivals for the railroad towns, that might destroy them. The rivals were located at present Pond Creek and present Enid. Enid Station became known as the depot town, Station of Enid, Railroad Enid, Old Enid, North Town, or North Enid, while the rival town was known as Government Enid or South Enid. Prior to the land opening, buildings could be erected legally only on lands reserved for land offices. On September 8, 1893, Smith stated to the Postmaster-General that temporary post offices could be established there until permanent arrangements could be made. A post office was thus established at South Enid on August 25, at the county seat.[29] A post office was established at Pond Creek on September 29. Pond Creek Station could secure no post office until January 12, 1894, and a post office for North Enid was delayed a week later. Senator Blackburn said that the Secretary of the Interior used his influence with the Postmaster-General to delay the establishment of post offices at the railroad towns.[30]

Could the railroad company be expected to establish stations at the government townsites and thus cooperate in destroying towns at its stations? Did the company have a moral obligation to persons who, believing in its judgment as to a good pros-

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[29] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), p. 59; Smith to Postmaster-General, Aug. 8, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., vol. 270, p. 150. At North Enid was a big red water tank. People at South Enid dubbed the location the "Tank Addition to Enid."

[30] *Cong. Record*, Aug. 1, 1894, p. 8068.

pective townsite, would make selections of land in the vicinity of the stations? It was certainly the duty of the railroad to seek justice for persons whose money was invested in the property. If there was iniquity, the railroad officials appeared to have eyes too pure to behold it. Indeed, they seemed to take no notice of land speculation and government manipulation near stations in the Cherokee Outlet. The company had established substantial depot buildings, and at all times since had properly maintained them. The company was powerless to prevent allottees from selecting lands near the stations. Congress considered ten miles a reasonable proximity for stations. Additional stations would cause loss in travel time.

Promoters of the government townsites did not promise the people that new stations would be established so close to those in operation. The company continued to stop the trains at its stations as in years previous, and not elsewhere. No law required it to establish a new depot in the Cherokee Outlet, or to stop its trains at the government towns. The railroad had paid for what it had received, including the right of wawy. Assuming that no railroad official had speculated in lands at the railroad towns, the clear determination of the Interior Department to destroy those towns, and impose on the company an expense of thousands of dollars in establishing and operating additional stations, was enough to make a red-blooded administrator stiffen his neck and at least insist on maintaining the status quo.

Such was the state of affairs when the Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement at noon on September 16, 1893. Prospective settlers until that time were forbidden to enter the Outlet, and they knew the location of county seats. They found sites for rival towns already determined. North-bound trains, crowded with settlers, passed through South Enid at regular speed, so that persons destined for that place had the choice of jumping off at risk of life or limb, or riding to the station at North Enid. According to T. R. Jackson, Sheriff of Canadian County, a great many people on the first northbound train jumped off at South Enid, and some were injured.

South-bound trains stopped at Pond Creek Station, not at the government townsite three miles south. At the stations, confused settlers were told that they were at Pond Creek and Enid. Settlers flocked to the government townsites, so that at sundown on September 16, South Enid claimed a population of 12,000. Rival towns were created immediately, and the "Railroad War" was on. Thomas J. Palmer was in North Enid on September 20 and noted that all freight and passenger traffic was done there for South Enid. He said: "It was now the Kansas officers of the

Rock Island against the U.S., as the officers of the Rock Island were interested in the new towns."[31]

Persons who located in the vicinity of North Enid were required to get mail from the post office at South Enid, and to use the land office there. The county seat was soon in operation at South Enid, probably expedited by the fact that territorial officers were in the Interior Department. According to Marquis James, "the railroad owned most of the northern townsite."[32] He noted that trains whistled through South Enid without stopping, that passengers had to get off at North Enid, and added: "If they insisted on going on to South Town they would have to get a rig, and no rigs could be hired for that purpose in North Town. When South Town people went to get the travelers, North Towners would try to upset the rigs and cut the harness." Jim G. Cleveland recalls that his father, David L. Cleveland, started the first hack line between the two towns. He used a spring wagon which carried six passengers and small baggage.

As explained above, the act of March 2, 1887, granted the railroad a general right of way 100 feet wide, and 100 feet additional for depressions. On March 30, 1889, the Secretary of the Interior approved a map of survey for the right of way. The Commissioner of the General Land Office on September 14, 1893, approved a survey and plat of the townsite of South Enid. These maps show a right of way 200 feet wide through the land upon which the town was established. At the time of the land opening, the railroad had erected a wire fence on each side of its track, at a distance of 100 feet from the center thereof.

The fence was removed soon after the land opening. A number of persons claimed that the railroad company was restricted by law to 100 feet, or 50 feet from the center of the railroad

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[31] Jack L. Cross, "Thomas J. Palmer, Frontier Publicist," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 452-487.

Elsewhere in Oklahoma townsites were established by private enterprise in opposition to government townsites. Ponca City was so founded in opposition to the government townsite of Cross, a mile north. Cross began with the advantage of a post office and railroad station; "Independence Built Ponca City," *Ponca City News,* Sept. 13, 1963; L. S. Barnes, "The Founding of Ponca City," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), pp. 154-162.

[32] Marquis James, *The Cherokee Strip,* pp. 12-15; "Their Own Medicine Returned," *Enid Daily Wave,* July 19, 1894; Ken Bonham, "'Great Railroad War' of 1894 Put Enid on the Map," *Enid Morning News,* Sept. 24, 1961. In an affidavit of January 3, 1894, William D. Bailey told how he and John M. Young on December 27, 1893, were forcibly prevented from taking an enumeration of the inhabitants and buildings at North Enid. They were appointed by the City Council of South Enid to do so. The affidavit is in NA, Leg. Branch, House Bill 3606.

track. They went upon the right of way and surveyed and platted six lots on each side of the track, between the 50-foot and 100-foot limits. They claimed that the railroad had made no use of this land, that it was in excess of the amount provided for in the act of March 2, 1887, and hence the approval of the survey by the Secretary of the Interior so far as this trip was concerned, was contrary to law and void. They claimed that the railroad company had forfeited all right to the land, and had ignored the wishes of the Secretary of the Interior and the earnest petition of the citizens of South Enid in the use of the land for station purposes. The townsite board rejected the applications of the claimants, and the Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Secretary of the Interior sustained the board.[33] The railroad retained the land.

"I want the trains to stop," said Delegate Dennit T. Flynn in echoing the vociferous demand of people at South Enid.[34] On September 29, 1893, Representative Joseph Wheeler of Alabama introduced House Bill 3606 to require railroad companies operating railroads in the Territories to establish stations and depots at certain places.[35] This generalization was used, although the target was the government townsites of Pond Creek and South Enid. The bill was referred to the Committee on the Territories of which Wheeler was chairman.

Mayor Ed. L. Dunn and members of the city council of South Enid, by a resolution on October 4, gave the railroad company opportunity to remove the necessity for the legislation.[36] The resolution, unanimously approved, requested the board of directors and chief officials of the company "to furnish such facilities for the public traffic as the exigencies of the case demand."

On October 12 the railroad was represented before the House Committee on the Territories by Attorney Thomas S. Wright and Day.[37] Wright explained that South Enid was an undesirable

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[33] Asst. Com. Edward A. Bowers to Townsite Board No. 9, March 22, 1894, NA, GLO, "G" *Letter Book,* vol. 13, pp. 156-159; same to same, Jan. 30, 1895, *ibid.,* vol. 20, pp. 422-426; Act. Sec. John M. Reynolds to Com. Gen. Land Office, Dec. 4, 1895, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R.R. Div., *Letter Book,* vol. 321, pp. 161-162; U. S. *v.* A. J. Maxfield, NA, GLO, townsite box 202, case 539.

[34] *Cong. Record,* Oct. 19, 1893, p. 2716.

[35] The bill is in *Cong. Record,* Oct. 19, 1893, p. 2713.

[36] The resolution of October 4, 1893, is in *ibid.,* Oct. 20, 1893, p. 2734.

[37] The testimony given on October 12 and 13, 1893, is in NA, Leg Branch, H. Bill 3606. Wright became a general attorney for the Rock Island in 1889. He died on July 27, 1894.

place for either a station or townsite; that there was not a shred of evidence that allottees, directly or indirectly, had received from the railroad any information concerning Swineford's recommendation that townsites be located at stations; that the railroad would be subjected unjustly to great expense if the bill became law; and he explained that "the railroad is not interested to the extent of a dollar at the stations of Enid and Pond Creek, beyond the right of way and station grounds which we took under the Act."

Wright said that the government townsite was located at a point where the railroad "descends both from the north and south and is in a hollow, the consequence being that our trains would have to be stopped on a descending grade and started on an ascending grade. I need not say how embarrassing that might be to have a station so situated." Wright added: "The grade rises in each direction from the townsite, that being the maximum grade upon our road." Trains were loaded for the maximum grade. Station grounds should be level enough for cars to stand on the track. Day explained that the grade was 35 feet to the mile on the North, and 20 feet to the mile on the South. Wright said: "We must obviate this grade. We cannot start and stop trains at the foot of the hill." He estimated the cost of erecting a station there, including grounds, at $80,000. South Enid and Pond Creek had been platted to the right of way of the railroad. The company would have to purchase or condemn a strip one hundred feet wide on each side of the right of way for station grounds. It already had ample grounds at the original locations, with stations there valued at $15,000 each.

The law did not permit the company to take away facilities once offered for station purposes to the detriment of the public served at the station. Wright estimated that people at North Enid had purchased town lots "perhaps to the amount of $50,000," but whether from allottees or white settlers, he did not know. It was of extraordinary expenses that he complained: "If these laws are passed we must continue to maintain our stations at Enid and Pond Creek and must keep them in repair, and in addition to satisfy the demands of the public, pay the agents, the yard men and switch men and such other men as are employed by the station, and must, at the same time maintain stations two miles away, establishing another station, maintaining that and keeping there employed another set of men." Wright thought that the government towns would move to the railroad towns because of "a more favorable location." He had this to say of South Enid:

> The government townsite is approached through a cut from the north and on the south from a heavy fill, which is, as I have already stated filled up to the level and crosses the townsite by two bridges, one of which is 22 feet in height. Through the town plat there runs, in a

meandering way, a stream called Boggy Creek, which name gives an adequate representation as to the surface of the land around about it. I am told it is necessary for teams to avoid it in order to prevent their being swamped on account of the soil surrounding it.

Wright said that the Interior Department recognized the right of the railroad to be informed of the locations selected by Swineford, but tried to keep the matter confidential. The Assistant Secretary of the Interior, declined to put the information upon the wire for the benefit of the attorney genera lof the railroad west of the Missouri River, and Wright informed him by letter. Wright stressed the point that the railroad had kept the matter in confidence, but that it was current in the press and circulated through the country. Apparently Owen got information from a surveyor with Swineford as to the locations selected for townsites. Wright explained that the railroad company, including its officials, had sold no lands to be divided into lots, and owned no land at the stations except the right of way and station grounds, which could be used only for railroad purposes.

The next day Lamoreux appeared before the committee and, under their questions and in the presence of Wright and Day, he was unable to present a shred of evidence that the railroad had betrayed the confidence of the Interior Department in disclosing locations for townsites selected by Swineford, or in acquiring any financial interest in allotments.[38] Lamoreux did not know whether the railroad or its officials had an interest in the allotments or had purchased any of them. He had no sworn evidence to support the rumor that within a few days after the issuance of the proclamation, the railroad had bought all the allotments except two. He had heard this from Michael A. Jacobs, Chief Clerk of the General Land Office, who presumably had been informed by an unknown representative of the railroad. When it was suggested that Moffitt might have been the representative, Wright explained that he was "an officious intermeddler in railroad operations," and at no time had any official connection with the railroad company, or any authority to speak for it. Lamoreux was equally helpless in presenting evidence that the railroad had divulged to allottees the intent of the Interior Department to locate townsites at places selected by Swineford.

Lamoreux proved to be as strong in his opinion and conviction as he was weak on charges against the railroad. He said: "I did not desire that the Indians should take their allotments around the old stations," and that allotments had "surrounded these little places." In his opinion, townsites should be laid out for the benefit of the people, instead of for the benefit of cor-

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[38] The testimony of Lamoreux on October 13, 1893, is in H. Bill 3606, *loc. cit.*

porations. He did not think that it was the duty of the government "to discriminate entirely in favor of a corporation against the rights of the people, or their right to acquire lots in a town laid out by the government." He favored House Bill 3606 because it expressed "the rights of the people" to control railroad companies.

Lamoreux said: "I am not opposed to railroads. I was an attorney for the St. Paul for years." He recognized that it would be difficult for the Rock Island Railroad Company to get depot grounds at South Enid. But he had no apology for Boggy Creek, saying that it was sufficient for sewage and fire fighting purposes. He added: "If I were going to lay out a town, I would like some water." He noted that a station could be located at the south side of South Enid where there was a cut of about five feet. He said: "The town would be three to five feet above the bed of the road, and that would constitute this up grade." His testimony contains the following information about selecting the sites of South Enid and Pond Creek:

> The railroads had sought to learn where these locations were to be made. I told them that they had better wait until the proclamation was issued. They said that there were going to be a great many people in there, and they wanted to put in sidings, stating that it would be a great benefit to them if I would communicate to them where those townsites would be located. I think they had made definite locations of their stations and depot grounds. I indicated to a representative of the railroad (which probably I should not have done; but I do not think there is any question about his being a representative of the railroad) where those townsites would be located. Probably it would have been better to have kept my own counsel. It would have obviated a great many questions which have arisen since. But I did so . . .
>
> When the allotments came to be returned, we found that it would be impossible to locate townsites where we had intended to locate them. Mr. [Harry] King, Chief of the Drafting Division, the Secretary, and myself took a map as large as this room showing the sections and quarter sections, and we worked a day trying to locate these townsites. We took the topography as it is shown on those maps, and we moved those townsites—that is, we did not locate them where I had indicated to Mr. Bussey [*sic*], the representative of the railroad, that they would be located, and I told him that the stations would be removed, and I gave him the reasons why they were to be removed. With those allotments surrounding those sites, if we had put the townsites there, of course it would have given a great deal of dissatisfaction to the people, and rightly so. . . .
>
> The history of railroads has been (I have had the honor of being upon the bench in a great many cases) that they calculated to take care of themselves. I never yet have seen a case where they were not on deck at the first blow of the bugle, when the people usually have not had representatives to represent their interests. So I say, as far as these railroad companies are concerned, I paid very little attention as to what it was going to cost them. Of course, when this location was made, Mr. King said these were the best that could be found under the circumstances.

Lamoreux said that it "has been the history of all railroads" to engage in townsite business. He referred to his experience in opening banks, and added: "I remember that when the roads were located in the State of Nebraska, we found that the townsite owners were the stockholders of the railroads . . . They were just like the builders of railroads. The railroad is never built by the railroad company, but by some construction company, and the construction company is the railroad."

Lamoreux explained that he would have been glad to accommodate the railroads, but not to the extent of requesting the President to issue a supplemental proclamation, reserving station grounds for them at the government townsites. In defense of the action of the Interior Department, he said: "It was impossible to locate where we had intended to locate, unless we located at the original place and gave all this land surrounding those towns to the allottees." He said that "the Department was forced to change these townsites, for otherwise the townsites would have been controlled by the allottees or the grantees of the allottees." He concluded: "If you take six or eight allotments and select them in two or three sections adjoining these other four sections (13, 16, 33, 36), and then show me how you can lay out a town in any form with those allotments in the way they are located, taken in connection with these sections, you can do better than the surveyors and the Secretary of the Interior and myself were able to do."

Wright remarked that charges against the conduct of the railroad company were "like the baseless fabric of a dream." He said that in the early history of the railroad the directors had incorporated themselves into townsite companies, but for the last 25 years this operation had not been permitted. He implied that "a company in Wichita" had a part in laying out South Enid. He said that the Interior Department had more than an official interest in the matter. He recalled that on October 12, the Secretary of the Interior candidly told him that "he had been to the Post Office Department to stop mail facilities for the reason that this condition of affairs existed there. In other words, the people at the old town of Enid were being deprived of post office facilities, because, as he said, the railroad company is refusing to stop at the new town."

Wright's aim was to protect the railroad company from being subjected to expenses by legislation. He said: "We have no interest either as a railroad company or as officers in the old town of Enid." He thought a station could be located between North Enid and South Enid and accommodate both without doing injustice to either. It might draw them together, make one town and one post office, and reduce chances of a county seat

contest. Hence he suggested that House Bill 3606 be amended to require that a station be located "at" or "near" the townsite.

The Interior Department opposed the suggestion.[39] Lamoreux said that the land north of South Enid was of the same character as that through the town, and for two miles south thereof. He said that what the company urged in opposition to the bill "is an excuse merely, and not a reason, for opposing the bill." He said that if the railroad were permitted to locate a depot midway between the two places, it "could very easily, if it saw proper to do so, give such preference to Old Enid (a place to which the company seems very much attached), as to build up that place at the expense of the town located by the government, and for the benefit of the people." Secretary Smith and Lamoreux agreed that if the bill were amended at all, "it shall be only to this extent, that the railroad company may locate its depot at any point within the limits of the townsite." Smith opposed the words, "within one-fourth of a mile of the boundary limits of all townsites." He wanted the station within the townsite of South Enid, and if any change were made, it should specify that the depot should be "on the south side" of the townsite.

In the House of Representatives on October 19, Wheeler explained House Bill 3606, and referred to the Indian allotments taken near the railroad towns in the Cherokee Outlet. He said: "The railway companies have bought these allotments and sold out the lots. They have made their money and accomplished all they want in the speculation, and now they stop fighting." Representative Simpson said: "This is a contest between a lot of land-grabbers in the main." He added that the railroad corporations had gone into the land-grabbing business.[40]

When the argument was made that deep cuts and fills would have to be made in establishing a station at South Enid, the bill was amended to allow the railroad some choice in locating stations. The bill passed the House on October 20 in the form of two sections. The language should be examined carefully because the bill eventually passed the Senate without change. The bill provided:

> That all railroad companies operating railroads through the Territories of the United States over a right of way obtained under any grant or Act of Congress giving to said railroad companies the right of way over the public lands of the United States shall be required to establish and maintain passenger stations and freight depots at or

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[39] Lamoreux to Wheeler, Oct. 16, 1893, NA, GLO, *Bill Book,* vol. 11, pp. 485-488; Sec. Hoke Smith to Wheeler, Oct. 18, 1893, NA, Int. Dept., Lands and R. R. Div., *Rec. Letters Sent,* vol. 128, p. 366; same to same, Oct. 25, 1893, *ibid.,* pp. 427-429.

[40] *Cong. Record,* Oct. 19, 1893, p. 2717.

within one-fourth of a mile of the boundary limits of all townsites already established in said Territories on the line of said railroads by authority of the Interior Department.

The second section required the companies within three months after the passage of the bill to establish passenger stations, freight depots, and other accommodations necessary for receiving and discharging passengers and freight, and specified a fine of $500.00 per day for noncompliance. So heavy a fine could prevent a judicial test of legislation.

Governor William C. Renfrow on October 7 issued a proclamation empowering South Enid to organize as a city of the first class, under a statute requiring a population of 2,500.[41] The city was so organized on November 3. Records in the office of the city clerk begin on November 10, when Ordinance No. 1 was passed, designating the boundaries of the city.

On the same day the City Council passed Ordinances No. 5 and No. 6, signed by Mayor John C. Moore and John L. Wiggins, City Clerk. Ordinance No. 5 made it unlawful to operate a train within the city at a greater speed than four miles per hour. The locomotive bell should be rung while the train was moving through the city, and the whistle should not be sounded except to prevent an accident that could not otherwise be avoided, or to start and stop the trains. Any person violating the ordinance should be subject to a fine in any sum not exceeding $100.00. Ordinance No. 6 made the fine applicable to any railroad company as well as to any person operating a train within the city at a greater speed than four miles per hour. The ordinances should take effect on publication.

Publication was delayed so as to give the Rock Island Railway Company time to take under advisement the erection of a depot at South Enid. On November 18 Moore addressed a letter to Ransom R. Cable, president of the company, calling attention to the ordinances. Moore said that "great trains of cars dash across our thronged and busy crossings at the rate of 40 miles and more an hour." He added that the trains were "endangering the lives of our people," and that if the rapid running of trains was not discontinued, the city council would be constrained to publish the ordinances and have them duly enforced. On November 21 the *West Side Democrat* published them, and Moore's letter. A week later the newspaper noted that the speed of trains had been greatly reduced, but exceeded the limit of four miles an hour. A civil suit to collect fines was contemplated.

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[41] The proclamation of Oct. 7, 1893, is in the office of the city clerk of Enid, *Commissioners Proceedings,* vol. 1, pp. 1-2; see also *Oklahoma Statutes, 1893, pp.* 160-161. Early city records of Enid are well preserved.

More than 700 "legal voters" of Pond Creek signed a petition requesting that their town be proclaimed a city of the first class. On November 14, Governor Renfrow issued a proclamation so designating Pond Creek.[42]

Secretary Smith completed his annual report on November 25, and in it he referred to the situation at North Enid and South Enid.[43] He said:

> The Government towns have rapidly filled with people, and yet in several instances the railroad companies made war upon these towns, and have exerted their influence in favor of the towns sought to be built up by speculators who purchased Indian allotments. In one instance a railroad company has declined to stop its trains at a Government town containing over 5,000 people, while it seems prepared to make liberal outlays for the town containing but little over 1,000 inhabitants held by the speculators.
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> A bill has been introduced in Congress, the purpose of which is to compel railroads in the Territories to treat with fairness the people upon the line of roads, and to prevent the possibility of discrimination in favor of speculative interests. I recommend the passage of legislation which will protect in this regard the people now occupying the Government towns in Oklahoma.

Dan Dacey was conductor on the passenger train that ran through South Enid. According to *Coming Events,* Moore and his deputies boarded a southbound train at North Enid for the purpose of arresting him if the train went through South Enid faster than four miles an hour.[44] At the crucial time Dacy disappeared, allegedly climbing over the train and getting into the baggage car. The train went through South Enid on schedule.

A week later city marshals and ten deputies boarded the northbound train at Waukomis, and offered to pay Dacy the fare to South Enid. He replied that there were no rates to that place, and that he could not collect the fare short of North Enid. He said that a crew on a mail train could not be arrested legally within the city limits or otherwise without a United States warrant for a criminal offense. The train passed through South Enid at 18 miles an hour. An attempt to arrest the crew when the train stopped at North Enid was considered unwise, because the crew were armed with Winchesters, and gave ample indication of using them. *The West Side Democrat* observed that "trains going south do not carry the mail on Sunday."

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[42] The proclamation and a copy of the petition are in NA, Leg. Branch, HR 53A-F44.4.

[43] *Ann. Rpt., Sec. Int., 1893, H. Ex. Docs.,* 53 Cong. 2 sess., xiii(3209), pp. xii-xiii.

[44] *Coming Events,* Nov. 30, 1893; Dec. 7, 1893. Ordinances 5 and 6 were republished in the *West Side Democrat* on December 12, 1893.

Part II

Violence Reached in the "Railroad War"

It has been explained that relief for the government towns was on the way because the House of Representatives had passed House Bill 3606. In local parlance, it was in the Senate "composed largely of railroad lawyers" that the bill encountered vigorous and prolonged opposition.[45]. When the opposing group could not defeat the bill in the Senate Committee on Railroads, they attached an amendment which almost defeated it in the Senate. It should be remembered that in the passage of the act of March 3, 1893, the Senate questioned the clause which permitted Indian allotments to be made "by the persons entitled thereto." The "Railroad War" was precipitated by the seven persons who took allotments at the railroad towns.

It has been explained that Thomas S. Wright, Robert W. Day, and Commissioner Silas W. Lamoreux appeared before the House Committee on the Territories. But it was before the Senate Committee on Railroads that the principal clash of interests occurred. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, presented the case for Pond Creek and South Enid. The Senate committee was about evenly divided on the bill. Senator James H. Berry, who was also chairman of the Senate Committee on the Public Lands, led the fight for Pond Creek and South Enid. He had the assistance of Senator John M. Palmer of Illinois, and Senator William A. Peffer of Kansas. Senator Joseph C. S. Blackburn, who was also a member of the Senate Committee on the Territories, led the fight for the railroad company, and on the floor of the Senate he had the active support of Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut.

South Enid supplied evidence for the debates, some of which may have been inflationary. O. Elwood Westfall took a census of the city from December 16 to 22, and listed 1371 names.[46] He said: "I visited every house, tent, dugout, business house or domicile of every kind and character therein and took all of the names of the occupants." In a memorial to Congress, people of South Enid said that by the sworn census taken January 2, 1894, there were 3,750 actual inhabitants there, and that they had invested a total of $500,000 in buildings and stocks of goods.[47]

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[45] G. E. Lemon, "Pond Creek History," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944-1945), pp. 452-456.

[46] This "Official City Directory of Enid," comprises 82 pages, and is in NA, Leg. Branch, HR 53-F44.4. Column headings are designated thus: married, number in family, occupation, native state.

[47] *Cong. Record,* Feb. 14, 1894, p. 2162.

Wright appeared before the Senate Committee on Railroads, but had time to make only a few remarks. On January 4 he and W. F. Evans, an attorney for the Rock Island Railway Company, submitted to Senator Johnson N. Camden, committee chairman, a printed statement and brief.[48] They observed that lands were reserved for county seats, but by the statutes of Oklahoma Territory, the people could vote on locations. They said: "Petitions are now being circulated for the calling of an election to vote on county seat locations, the result of which elections may be that neither of the government townsites will be chosen as county seats."

In the National Archives are petitions allegedly circulated in L County requesting that the bill be not passed because it would result in great injustice to the inhabitants by fostering and maintaining the government townsites, and would cause a permanent county seat contest. They state that the Salt Fork was a dangerous and treacherous stream containing deposits of quicksand, and was crossed only by a railroad bridge. Similar petitions were circulated in O County requesting that the bill be not passed but that the matter of locating a county seat be left to the Territorial legislature.

Defeat of the government townsites at the polls would mean that "much, if not all, of their prospective glory is departed." Wright and Evans said that the result of a vote "will be one of the vital factors in determining centers of population. We insist that it is inequitable to require the railways to go to all the expense imposed by this bill while these uncertainties exist." They emphasized that everything was unsettled, legislation by Congress would be premature, and that there was no precedent for it. They also said:

> The legislation is a police regulation peculiarly domestic in its character. The need for its exercise, the conditions affecting the supposed need, the results of its exercise, are all necessarily more fully within the knowledge of the local authorities than in Congress. For instance, the Territorial legislature may well conclude that it is not wise to foster a town at the government site of Round Pond, located as it is, remote from the center, and thus complicate and increase the probabilities of county seat contests, which are always bitter and hence inimical to the best good of the people. This legislation would foreclose the Territorial control of that matter.
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> The government town of Enid is located, as the maps show, upon very bad ground, cut by a swamp, boggy stream called Boggy Creek; the railroad is built through it on a high fill, across several bridges, leaving the town, much of it, below the level of the tracks, and placing in the very center of the town, bisecting its streets, a high embankment which will always interfere, more or less, with the drainage and with the free

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[48] The statement and brief, submitted Jan. 4, 1894, are in NA, Leg. Branch, H. Bill 3606.

and symmetrical construction and improvement, as well as the ready use of the streets.[49] These conditions will inevitably lead to conflicts between the municipality and the railroad, conflicts which it is the policy of good government to avoid. The Territorial authorities, close to the scene of action, and hence better acquainted with the situation than Congress, may well conclude it unwise to foster a town there, especially as already suggested, everything yet is temporary, formative and unsettled. The Territory may well prefer to wait until permanent conditions are fixed before entering upon the business of establishing these police regulations.

It was soon rumored that the Senate Committee on Railroads would report the bill "so amended, as to make up a county-seat fight or two." The shock to South Enid was intense. On January 22 the *Enid Daily Wave* said: "It would be better, far better, for the people of Enid to wire their representatives, [John C.] Moore and [R. G.] Gregg, to go before the Senate committee and state that Enid withdraws from the contest for a Rock Island depot if it cannot be procured without forever ruining O County, then come home." J. K. Little, councilman, noted that the railroad company was trying to attach the amendment. He said that if the bill were passed with the amendment, "it will be a death blow to our party in the Territory, bankrupt the county, cause endless strife, bloodshed and litigation."[50] Petitions and affidavits in the National Archives indicate that South Enid and Pond Creek had cause to fear the loss of their county seats if the senate amendment were passed.

On January 22 the Senate committee reported House Bill 3606 with an amendment which injected the suggestion by Wright and Evans into the debate—the suggestion of determining by a popular vote the location of the county seats of Grant and Garfield counties.[51] The amendment provided:

> That within twenty days after the passage of this act the Governor of Oklahoma shall give thirty days' notice of an election by the qualified electors of the counties of L and O in the Territory of Oklahoma for

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[49] In 1964 Henry B. Bass of Enid said: "The Rock Island Railway Company was right concerning the part Boggy Creek would play in a town established at South Enid. During the last seventy years the creek floods have cost the people of Enid, damage running into millions of dollars. It cost the City of Enid and the federal government two million dollars to build a diversion canal around the city. This ended the major part of the damage. However, three branches of Boggy Creek still meander through the city and cause damage and inconvenience whenever a four-inch rain falls."

[50] Little to Rep. J. V. Cockrell, Jan. 23, 1894, NA, Leg. Branch, accompanying papers, file HR 53A-D 1.

[51] The amendment is in *Senate Journal*, 53 Cong. 2 sess., (3159), p. 84. It was rumored that Moore in Washington gave his consent to the amendment. The *Wave* on January 25, 1894, condemned such action, if true.

the purpose of determining the location of the county seats of said counties, and the location having a majority of all the votes in each of said counties shall be the county seat of said county; and said election shall be conducted and the result determined as provided by the laws of Oklahoma.

In Garfield County the Democratic organization, "relying upon the good faith of the Administration," had pledged to the people that a depot would be located at South Enid, and the pledge was accepted with confidence. On January 27 the Democrats in caucus addressed a protest to Secretary Smith, stating that no reason existed for a county seat election.[52] They stated that a contest would cause bitterness, bloodshed, and "work irreparable disaster to the Democratic party in this county and Territory." They said that the Senate amendment had "developed a gigantic scheme set on foot by Republicans of Oklahoma Territory, headed by Ex-Governor (Abram J.) Seay, Ex-Marshal (William) Grimes and other prominent Republican leaders, to arouse and stir up a county seat war in this and adjoining counties, and if possible to change the location of the county seat, knowing that the bitterest feeling will react on the present Administration and your Department and will unsettle and change the faith of a host of Democrats whose fealty to the party has heretofore been unquestioned." It was emphasized that a county seat election would turn Democrats against the party, that the feeling was general, and that "threats are not mere pretense."[52a]

House Bill 3606 was pending in Congress nearly a year, and in the meantime it was vigorously debated. The Senate amendment caused controvery. Senator Berry said that the railroad company "undertook to put this amendment on the bill with no other purpose in the world except to defeat the measure which

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[52] A copy of the protest, forwarded to Senator Berry, is in NA, Leg. Branch, H. Bill 3606. The party influence remained active at South Enid. On April 12, 1894, H. L. Edwards, Secretary of "O" County Democratic Central Committee, wrote to Wheeler: "This county was opened under a Democratic Administration, and now, if a Democratic Congress permits the passage of the county seat amendment, which will unquestionably bring bloodshed in its wake, the Democratic party will be dead in this part of Oklahoma."

[52a] The protest was signed by William M. Williams, Chairman of the Democratic County Central Committee; D. N. Caldwell, Chairman of the Democratic City Central Committee; James P. Clark, Secretary of the Democratic City Central Committee; John L. Wiggins, Territorial Democratic Central Committee of "O" County; J. W. Thompson, Probate Judge; R. E. Wood, County Attorney; G. W. Johnson, Sheriff; W. D. Cornelius, County Clerk; R. L. Collins, County Commissioner; E. B. Cravens, Acting Mayor; W. S. Denton, City Attorney; W. O. Peery, Police Judge; Charles Ball, Chief of Police; Aldermen, J. R. Little, F. P. Webster, J. J. Stanton, C. S. Mendenhall. Also signing the protest were Charles O. Woods and William J. Rogers of the Townsite Board; and Robert W. Patterson and John J. S. Hassler, Register and Receiver of the Enid Land Office.

had been passed by the House." Senator Teller expressed his view thus: "I have no hesitation in saying that the proposition for a vote to change the county seat is a device of the railroad company to secure delay and the nonpassage of this bill." He said its purpose was to prevent legislation on the subject. Senator Allen of Nebraska stated that opponents of the bill urged the amendment which would have the effect of "utterly destroying the beneficial force and effect of the bill." Representative Champ Clark of Missouri said: "We have nothing whatever to do with county seats." He said the amendment was "lugged in here only for the purpose of misleading members." He thought Congress ought to have "a great deal to do with forcing that railroad company" to furnish depot facilities to the people induced by the government to settle at the two designated townsites, Pond Creek and South Enid.

Proponents of the bill as amended contended that "home rule in the Territories" should not be supplanted by congressional regulations. Senator Joseph M. Carey of Wyoming said: "The people of Oklahoma are to be pitied. There is scarcely a dog fight out in that new Territory without one side or the other coming to Congress for relief." He attributed the "trouble with Oklahoma" to too much special legislation and federal regulation. He thought it would be best to "let the people of Oklahoma settle their own difficulties," under Territorial government. It was observed that congressional intervention in locating a county seat in a populated county might well lead to the question of locating a bridge, schoolhouse, or jail.

Senator Blackburn said he was in favor of the amendment, but was "opposed to the passage of the bill, no matter how amended."[53] He said: "I am opposed to Congress undertaking to regulate by congressional enactment every local municipal affair in every Territory of this country." Senator Edward Oliver Wolcott of Colorado agreed with Blackburn that there was not "the slightest necessity" for congressional legislation on the subject of building stations and stopping trains at Pond Creek and South Enid, but that such matters were properly within the province of the Territorial legislature which would meet on January 8, 1895. He doubted if any Territorial governor "would be senseless enough" to call a special session of the legislature to compel "a great railroad company to build a railroad station" within three miles of a place where it had already erected one. Senator Wilkinson Call of Florida said:

> This is the most aggravated instance of which I have ever heard. A corporation bound by its contract to furnish transportation facilities wherever reasonable denies to several thousand people such facilities,

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53 *Cong. Record,* Feb. 13, 1894, p. 2130.

upon the pretense that they may not permanently stay at that place, that they have a town nearby. . . . The idea that a people paying $70,000 for freight and transportation shall be required to walk or haul their freight 2 or 3 miles away to a smaller place, to a place that has not the same requirement for convenience and facilities, and that it should be debated here and earnestly insisted that we are doing what? We are interfering with self-government.

Senator Platt said: "It is special legislation. If the bill had been headed, 'An Act to carry out the determination of the Secretary of the Interior to have the Rock Island Railroad Company establish depots at Enid and Round Pond,' it would have expressed exactly what this legislation is intended to be." Platt added: "If a senator wishes to do a thing the doctrine of home rule does not trouble him at all from asking that it be done by Congress, and if a senator does not wish something done, then the doctrine of home rule is invoked as a reason why it should not be done."

Platt thought that South Enid had grown up on the assumption that it was to be the county seat. He said that if the county seat were removed to North Enid, "the town would disappear over night." Blackburn said that when the county-seat question was determined, one town would disappear within a week, by moving to the winning town. Senator Peffer referred to the temporary population of the towns. He said that if the people voted to locate the county seat at North Enid, "the other town would finally disappear and you would see the houses by the hundreds hauled by oxen over the prairie grass, sliding along from one place to the other." In a summary, Platt said: "This is a county-seat fight. Now, if by the bill the county seat can be forced to this inequitable if not unconscionable location of land for county-seat purposes made by the Secretary of the Interior, then a town at Enid, equally strong in numbers, as populous, with equal rights, is to be destroyed. That is all there is about it."[54]

Senator Berry said that the bill was made necessary because of "a fight between the Rock Island Railroad Company and the citizens" of the towns of South Enid and Pond Creek. Senator Palmer said in defense of South Enid: "Hold them down until the county seat is taken from them, and when the county seat is taken from them, then the town goes, and the town having gone under the operation of this amendment, there will be nobody there to complain, and the American Congress will have been guilty of having held one community while it was being skinned by all others." Berry thus expressed the viewpoint of the people of South Enid:[55]

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[54] *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1894, pp. 2216.

[55] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1894, p. 2029.

The law said that the Secretary of the Interior should say where the county seat should be. They went by that law; they did not know the causes which produced it or anything about it. They were innocent people, relying upon this great Government, which said that these should be the county seats of these two respective counties. I say they settled in those towns; they expended every dollar on earth that they controlled; they had left their homes and invested what they had in these towns, where they live today; but the Rock Island Railroad Company, through malice either because the county seat was not located where their station was, or because they had an interest in this allotment land—from one or the other of these causes, they have persistently refused to stop a train at either of these places. They will not put off or take on passengers; they will not take one pound of freight from any citizen of these places, but compel them to go to the next station in order to get their freight or in order to take passage there or to get off the train when they return home.

The county-seat amendment merits careful analysis. It was the Secretary of the Interior that moved the county-seat locations from sites chosen by his agent, Swineford. Thus, it was claimed that the Secretary of the Interior, not the railroad, injected the county-seat question into the "Railroad War." The railroad staked its judgment on locations it had chosen for townsites. It was willing to risk its judgment in the arena of democracy, so that people who lived in a county could assert their preference of location for the county seat. Locations for county seats had been arbitrarily determined by the Secretary of the Interior, and were not yet permanently established. Should not the matter be settled by local vote? A Territorial government had been in operation three years, and could supervise local matters. Stations were expensive in railroad operation, and should be established at populous centers that had promise of permanence. Townsites were a gamble, and ghost towns proverbial.

If the bill passed without the amendment, the railroad would be defeated and compelled to establish stations at Pond Creek and South Enid. If the amendment were adopted, there was a chance that the people would decide for the railroad towns. The railroad had been the friend of the farmers, and following a recent drouth had supplied them with an abundance of "the best seed wheat that could be purchased" in Kansas, requiring only their signatures on promissory notes.[56] The hand of this "soulless corporation" might well continue to sustain the farmers because in 1894 all crops, except wheat, were seriously damaged by drouth. Railroad men were experts in advertising real estate. If an elec-

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[56] In the autumn of 1890 the railroad distributed about $10,000 worth of seed wheat from its stations; Angie Debo, *Prairie City,* pp. 16-60. A good account is by A. W. Large, *The History of the Rock Island Railroad in Oklahoma, loc. cit.* See also, Ed H. Williams, "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in Garfield County," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (Summer, 1957), pp. 163-168; Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma* vol. 1, p. 391.

tion were held to determine a county seat, the advocates of North Enid could point advantageously to the fact that South Enid had no railroad facilities. Moreover, if the majority of citizens wanted the county seat retained at South Enid, they could easily settle the matter by ballot.

South Enid needed a depot whether or not it was a county seat. If the railroad doubted the permanence of the town, it could establish only a small depot there. The Territorial law about county seats, as explained above, was a complicated matter on which able attorneys could be expected to disagree. It might be construed to mean that no election to relocate a county seat could be held for five years. It could hardly be expected that a special session of the legislature would be called to clarify the matter, and the regular session of the legislature was months away. Final determination by Congress, although arbitrary, might be expedient. Prompt passage of the bill, as amended, would have found many homesteaders outside the Cherokee Outlet, since they were allowed six months in which to establish actual residence in a house on their farms. No registration had been taken of qualified electors. Perhaps the strongest argument against the county-seat amendment was that it would add a county-seat war to the "Railroad War." County-seat wars were proverbial for ruthlessness, and for prolonged enmity even after the issue had been settled. The whole situation was most peculiar because it was the practice for railroad companies to maintain stations where there was business to justify them. They were as efficient as the Secretary of the Interior in specifying fair facilities for towns they served.

Opponents of the amendment claimed that it would lead to destructive local quarrels. Senator Platt said that there would not be any bloodshed by the railroad or its officers, or by anybody interested in the railroad. Senator Teller said: "The better portion of the people know that no contest carried on with this railroad company will be without bloodshed." Senator Berry opened the subject for Peffer with the following statement: "All Senators who live in the West know something of the difficulties which come from the question of a county-seat location; they know the excitement, even the bloodshed, which has followed the agitation of these county-seat questions in the State of Kansas and other States of the West." Peffer, who had observed conditions in Kansas, said that county-seat contests were "the ugliest and the meanest and the wickedest of all local contests." He compared the contests to bushwhacking during the Civil War. He said that friendships for years had been destroyed by such contests. In condemnation of the amendment, he said: "I can foresee bloodshed, I can forsee destruction of property, the burning of houses, and all manner of wicked devices to destroy and to weaken the enemy."

Peffer read to the Senate a post card signed by John C. Moore, Mayor of South Enid. It termed the amendment "a declaration of war among the people. Why not have the war declared in the other counties? The people have not asked [for] this conflict; they deprecate it, and they see in it bloodshed and ruin. They asked this Congress for depots, and they guaranteed the expense. The response is, 'go to war.' "[57] Berry reported that the Governor of Oklahoma Territory in a telegram to him said that the amendment if enacted would cause trouble, possibly bloodshed, and universal disturbance throughout the Territory. Berry voiced the bitter opposition of South Enid to the amendment, and doubted if there was a man there who favored it.

Petitions had a place in the debate. One or more mass meetings were held at North Enid, and resolutions were adopted demanding the passage of the bill as amended. Rumors of similar action at South Enid favoring the bill without the amendment were reported, and charges of forgery on telegrams and petitions were freely made.[58] On February 13, 1894, Senator Blackburn said he had "a remonstrance signed by 4,025 citizens of the Territory of Oklahoma protesting against the passage of this bill." Berry observed that it carried names of "residents of every part of the Strip." Blackburn then presented a petition purportedly signed by citizens of Grant and Garfield counties. He said: "I hold in my hand a petition signed by 2,040 citizens . . . asking that no legislation go through Congress that does not protect them in their right to vote and by their votes to determine the location of county seats. They do not want you to legislate upon these local questions for them."[59] As the debate came to a close, Berry said:[60]

> You can cover it up as you will, but it comes back to this simple proposition: That there are people who went to that Territory under the invitation of the Government, who went to a county seat established by the Government after it was established, invested their all, in one case

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57 *Cong. Record,* Feb. 15, 1894, p. 2020.

58 *Coming Events* did not like the amendment, but opposed the further expenditure of money in sending men to Washington. On February 8, 1894, the newspaper observed that the county seat question would have to be settled sometime, and that there was no advantage in postponing the matter. It added: "The only opposition to the City of Enid is the berg at the station. We have ten people to their one."

59 "Petitions signed by 2,667 residents of L and O Counties, Oklahoma Territory, asking for the passage of the Senate amendments to House Bill 3606," are in NA, Leg. Branch, HR 53A-F44.4. Affidavits of authenticity were affixed on February 22, 1894.

60 Berry's assertion that the inhabitants of South Enid and Pond Creek would "pay every dollar of expense" that depots would cost, has an idle ring to those acquainted with economic conditions on the frontier. A dispatch to the *Wichita Daily Eagle* on July 28, 1894, quoted W. F. Evans, railroad attorney, as follows: "Accepting this in good faith, the company filed a proposition to put depots at each town, but the townsite representatives refused to consider such a proposition."

a town of 3,000 inhabitants and in the other 2,000, where a railroad runs directly through each town and where the railroad company will not stop its trains to put off a passenger or take on a passenger, where it will not put off a pound of freight or take on a pound of freight. They come to the Senate of the United States and say, "The Government gave this railroad company the right to go through the Territory, and we ask you to make them give us a depot; we do not propose to interfere with any other depot, we are not trying to hurt any other town in Oklahoma, but we ask you to compel this railroad company to give us a depot, and we will pay every dollar of expense that it costs." They stand ready to guarantee a bond to that effect.

Blackburn gave the following summary:

There never was but one question in it, and that is as to whether by an arbitrary act, the Secretary of the Interior could defeat the rights covered and secured by treaty stipulations to the people of this Cherokee tribe. That was all there ever was in it. Nobody ever denied that the railroad should give facilities to these people. The only question was as to whether it should be required to do it by the local Legislature or by Congress.

But the one question, and the only question of any consequence, that was ever involved was as to whether the Secretary of the Interior should be permitted, by the exercise of an arbitrary power locating a town here, allowing public notice in the newspapers to be given to it, then changing his purpose after the allottees had made their irrevocable entries, to render valueless the entries so made by the widows and orphan children of the Cherokee tribe, whose interests had been sacredly guarded and protected by treaty right.

I want to see this Government maintain its good faith as covered by every treaty, but I would infinitely prefer to see this Government violate treaty stipulations with a power like Great Britain or Germany or Russia or France, than to undertake to forfeit her faith, covered by treaty agreement, with a helpless people like this handful of half-civilized Indians. That is the only question that ever was involved in this controversy.

In the Senate on February 15, 1894, a motion to lay the bill on the table was defeated by a vote of 31 to 25. The county seat amendment was considered next. Peffer offered an amendment to it, providing that the voters in the election should consist of "all citizens" above the age of 21 who should have been actual and bona fide residents of the counties for 30 days prior to the election. The Senate inserted the words "all male citizens."[61] The amendment as thus amended was agreed to by a vote of 34 to 21.

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[61] Peffer insisted on giving women a right to vote on the county-seat question, because they merited "every right and every privilege" enjoyed by men. He said: "The time has come when we need the help of women in public affairs as much as we do in private affairs. If there is any portion of the human family that more than another is interested in the home it is the woman, our mothers, our wives, our daughters. Every young man, when he searches for a wife and makes a selection, does it believing that he has not only selected the best woman in the world, but one who is his equal in every respect."

A joint resolution of Congress on October 17, 1893, provided for the first municipal elections in the Cherokee Outlet, and limited voting rights and office-holding to male citizens above the age of 21 years; 28 *Statutes*, 13. The extension of suffrage to include all bona fide residents, was popular in the Outlet according to petitions in NA, HR 59, A-F 44.4.

In general, senators who voted to lay the bill on the table, voted for the amendment. Teller said that every enemy of the bill voted for the amendment, "and they voted for it for the purpose of defeating the bill." The Senate divided 27 to 27 on the bill as amended, and Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson cast the deciding vote that passed it. Had he not voted for the bill, there would have been no way to give relief to the residents of South Enid and Pond Creek. Passage of the bill by the Senate included the possibility of eliminating the county-seat amendment by a committee of conference.

During the Senate debate the leading men of South Enid and Pond Creek conferred for common interest. John L. Wiggins, City Clerk of South Enid, was in Washington "working tooth and toenail for the city and county." The *Enid Daily Wave* gave good news coverage and never doubted that South Enid would grow into "great fields for profitable investment." On February 20 the newspaper said:

> The longer the contest goes on at Washington over the justice involved in compelling the Rock Island railroad to treat the people, their customers, justly by establishing a depot in the center of this city, the more the whole world is being educated on the inborn meaness of the great Rock Island company; consequently the railroad lawyers of the Senate only stand against justice and the people in this matter. . . . Enid is willing to pass on the depot if it can save the county from destruction in the way of endless war.

The City Council of South Enid did not relax in the assertion of its police power, although it appears to have been ineffectual. On December 14, 1893, the *Wave* noted that 18 suits had been brought against the railroad company for disobeying ordinances "regarding the running of trains in the city, faster than a walk."

Ordinance No. 35 was published in the *West Side Democrat* on March 27, 1894, and took effect that day. It was signed by Acting Mayor W. R. Gregg and Wiggins. Section 5 stated: "Every railway company operating or using a railway when the same crosses or intersects E Street in said city, or operating a line of cars over said railway track when the same intersects or crosses E Street shall ring the bell continuously, commencing 80 rods from said street, and bring their locomotive or other cars to a stop within two rods of said street." The ordinance required the company to plank the space between the rails and otherwise improve crossings. Any company failing to comply with the provisions of the ordinance should forfeit to the city the sum of $100.00 to be recovered in a civil action.

The "Railroad War" included good fun and caustic remarks, as evidenced by tales of pioneers and newspaper comment. The *Wave* on April 11, 1894, said: "Again the Rock Island came to a stop for perhaps the third time in this city. It stopped once before because a train broke in two; again it paused hesitatingly

before a couple of old raw-boned steers, and today it planted its forefeet firmly before it and reared back when two fuzzy, ribby colts stood on the track and blinked their eyes enquiringly at the oncoming train. The engineer gave a few low, crooning curses and then had to get out and hollo 'shoo!' to the colts before they vamoosed." Sometimes trains ran "so slow that a cowcatcher is really needed on the back end of the rear car to keep the cows from climbing on behind and stealing a ride while the train is ambling along over the rails."

Ordinance No. 36, approved on April 13, 1894, limited the speed of trains within the city to six miles an hour. On the same day the City Council passed Ordinance No. 37, a longer one, which took effect on its publication in a local newspaper on April 14. It prohibited the operation of trains within the corporate limits "at a greater speed than six miles an hour." Fines for violation of the ordinance remained at $100.00 as provided in Ordinances No. 5 and No. 6.

Representative Wheeler, who had introduced House Bill 3606, considered the county-seat amendment "bad legislation," and the House of Representatives refused to accept it. Wheeler explained that friends of the bill and "some prominent gentlemen from Oklahoma" regarded the amendment as an instrument intended for the sole purpose of killing the whole legislation. Rumor had it that the amendment was intended to leave residents of South Enid at the mercy of the railroad officials until they could "import a lot of men there through whom they could control the election."

Representative Simpson, Populist from Kansas, said: "The question is whether the will of the railroads or the will of the people shall be carried out." He said that if the amendment were not eliminated, the railroads would be victorious. He added: "They will carry the election and locate the county seats at their towns. For the purpose of carrying the election, they will ship in colored people from various parts of the country to vote, just as they did in my district in the last election, when they brought in 7,000 Negroes to defeat me, because they knew I would oppose their schemes looking to the interest of the railroad corporations."[62] Champ Clark of Missouri summed up the matter:

> It is simply a question whether the Government of the United States has the disposition and the power to keep faith with about 10,000 American citizens or whether the Rock Island Railroad Company and some land companies in Oklahoma shall have a chance to make some money in speculation. That is the whole question. Gentlemen may pant out their eloquence and befog the House, but that is the difference, in effect between what is proposed by this bill as it originally passed here and the bill with this Senate amendment tacked on to it.

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[62] *Cong. Record,* Feb. 17, 1894, p. 2262. Simpson was defeated in the election of 1894, but elected in 1896.

Contemporary documents of the spring of 1894 show the impact of the "Railroad War" in Congress and on the local scene. In an affidavit William Brumbaugh, a farmer at North Enid, stated that at South Enid he observed persons not resident of that location, being invited to sign a petition opposing passage of the amendment, and that names of persons not present were affixed to the petition. Among affidavits requesting that the amendment be retained is one by W. E. Knott, a farmer in O County. He expressed a desire to have the privilege of voting upon the location of the county seat. He said that he had talked with a large number of farmers and a number of residents of the "Government Townsite of Enid, O. T., and they all stated that it would be for the best interests of this county that the matter be now settled."

On March 24, James B. Williams of Pond Creek requested Blackburn to use his influence to prohibit further legislation until the people of the county could agree among themselves as to a location to build a town. He added: "If we were to secure a depot at this point, we could not build a city such as a county as rich and fertile as this is entitled to. Emigration and capital will shun us and the county until we can adjust this matter at home. The water at this point is unfit for use. There must and will be built at some point north of the river a city, and I believe that we are in a fair way to agree upon that location, if Congress will give the hot heads on both sides of this question to understand that there will be no further legislation."

On March 24, the *Oklahoma Daily Tribune* reported that "for the last five days Congress has been flooded with bogus telegrams, hundreds of false and malicious affidavits and God knows what else by the railroad townsite company and its leggers trying to convince senators" that Enid wanted a county-seat war. The paper said that "hundreds of good citizens of South Enid have had their names forged to these false affidavits and sent on to Congress."

In Congress a committee of conference was appointed, and on April 3 it reported that an agreement had not been reached. Two days later a second committee was appointed, but it never reached an agreement.

On April 11, John L. Wiggins, City Clerk of South Enid, described the situation thus:[63] "The railroad officials are using

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[63] Wiggins to Wheeler, April 11, 1894, NA, Leg. Branch *loc. cit.* In an affidavit of March 28, 1894, Jacob Guthrie, W. E. Johnson, and J. W. Righter stated that "H. M. Spalding was compelled through fear of personal violence being inflicted upon him by persons of said South Enid, to go before Judge Burford of the federal court and make affidavit denying the fact that he had sent various telegrams to Senators Blackburn and Platt, declaring it to be the sense of the citizens of South Enid that the 'Station Bill' be passed as amended." For charges of libel and forgery, see the *Wave,* March 20 to April 9, 1894.

money, passes and every means possible to obtain false affidavits from our citizens and have even gone so far as to violate the criminal laws of our Territory in personating Mr. [H. M.] Spalding, Chairman of our Board of Trade, and other prominent citizens. The Grand Jury however has taken cognizance of that."

W. T. Watson, Acting Mayor of South Enid, said that the people "have been outraged in every sense of the word" by the Rock Island Railway Company and their henchmen. He condemned the sensational reports by which "the Associated Press is being debauched every day." H. L. Edwards, Secretary of "O" County Democratic Central Committee, was explicit:[64] "There has never been anyone killed in this town. There has never been anyone hung in effigy. But to the contrary this is one of the most quiet, peaceful, law-abiding towns to be found in the west."

Excerpts from files in the National Archives show the feeling of the times. Watson wrote to Wheeler on April 12:

> A more righteous cause than that of the people of South Enid was never taken up by any man or set of men, and if the fight is won for them in the Senate, the lasting gratitude of the people of South Enid will go out in heartfelt thanks to the Senators who have so nobly stood by them. As Acting Mayor of this city, I plead with you, in the name of our people to save them and their homes from the damning and corrupt influence of the powerful corporation with which they are striving.

An observer was William L. Cundiff, a Townsite Commissioner of Board No. 9. On April 14 he wrote to Senator Allen that the people of South Enid were honorable and had not resorted to violence. He added: "I have been in many fights in Nebraska, in sympathy with the same party [Populist] that you represent and working with it, but I have never seen any city or any community so thoroughly imposed upon by a railroad corporation and by the press, as this community has been."

The citizens of South Enid in a memorial to Congress replied to a question asked by Senator Platt on February 15 in the debate on the county-seat amendment: "Has anybody petitioned for it except the Secretary of the Interior?" The Memorial was circulated on April 12 and 13 by Joseph J. Stanton, Alderman.[65] He said that all the "signers are actual Residents of the City of South Enid, and Vicinity." He said that owing to a reavy rainstorm he was prevented from getting more signatures, but he believed that he could have secured 99 out of 100 of the residents of Garfield County to sign the memorial, as the sentiment of everyone he approached was "unanimously opposed to a county-seat amendment." The Memorial is as follows:

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[64] Edwards to Wheeler, April 12, 1894, NA, Leg. Branch, *loc. cit.*; "Pond Creek Misrepresented," *Kansas City Star,* April 3, 1894.

[65] The Memorial is in NA, Leg. Branch, H.R. 51 A-H. 422.4, Okla. Ter. I am indebted to Bessie Truitt and Henry B. Bass of Enid in reading signatures on the Memorial. See *Appendix A* for signatures of signers.

We, the undersigned citizens of Oklahoma Territory, would respectfully ask your perusal of our memorial herewith submitted, relating to our peculiar position with reference to House Bill 3606, and also relating to the attitude assumed by the C.R.I. & P.R.R. in reference thereto.

On September 16th 1893, when the Cherokee Outlet was opened for settlement our government had established a townsite at this place and had designated this town as the county seat of O County. At the same time the C.R.I. & P.R.R., or their agents, had vested in themselves a fee simple title in eighty acres of land on which is located North Enid, and on which, according to them, the future city of this part of the country should be built. This hostility began at the very moment that the Outlet was thrown open for settlement and has continued from that time to this without any abatement but with increasing virulence.

Beginning at 12 o'clock high noon, Sept. 16th, 1893, when the C.R.I. & P.R.R. Co. ran its trains, heavily freighted with home-seekers, through the government townsite of Enid at an increased rate of speed, compelling those desirous of locating here to either jump from a train travelling at the rate of fifteen miles an hour or be carried to the place selected by said railroad, we say beginning at that time the C.R.I. & P.Ry. Co. has done everything in its power to hinder and delay us in building up our city. We citizens of Enid met on November 3rd last, pursuant to the proclamation issued by the Governor of this Territory, and selected a set of city offiicals. One of the first ordinances passed by the City Council was an ordinance regulating the rate of speed at which trains should run through this city. The C.R.I. & P.R.R. Co. paid no attention to the ordinance, but continued running their trains through the city at their usual speed, setting at naught our law and defying us openly and without fear.

Not content with the violation of our laws, the C.R.I. & P.R.R. Co. has done everything in its power to belittle us in the eyes of Congress. It has through its paid hirelings, sent malicious and untruthful telegrams throughout the country reporting that our city was a hotbed of outlawry, bloodshed and riot, and the latest move by our enemy, the said railroad, is a telegram stating that the citizens of this city have hung in effigy Senator Wolcott. This latest telegram we brand as a wilful and malicious lie, and we unhesitantingly state that it was sent by the C.R.I. & P.R.R. Co., or by their tools or emesaries [emissaries], for the sole purpose of injuring our city in the eyes of Congress and the United States.

We would respectfully represent to your Honorable Body, that the city that this railroad is so desirous of destroying has at this time a population of over four thousand:

It has five public school buildings all in use,

It has six church buildings,

It has five banks,

It has among its merchants stock invested to the amount of $300,000 and over,

It has three daily and three weekly newspapers,

It has expended in public improvements the sum of $8000.

It is a city noted for improvement and enterprise, and if given a fair chance will make the best city in the former Cherokee Outlet.

We would further represent that should House Bill 3606, as amended, pass both houses of Congress, we would be thrown into a county-seat fight, the bitterness and length of which none but those who have passed through similar ones elsewhere can estimate. If a county seat

fight should occur, as it would, should the location of a county seat be left to a vote of the people, the residents of O County would become engaged in a deadly and bitter feud, not to be determined in less than five years and probably extending over a much longer period of time. Even when finally settled by the courts, bitterness and hostility would exist between the opposing factions.

In view of these facts above set forth, and in view of the further fact that our welfare, nay our very existence, is dependant upon the rejection of House Bill No. 3606, *as amended,* we, your petitioners do most respectfully pray that House Bill 3606 be passed without the county-seat amendment, or if that cannot be done, that the bill as now amended, be defeated; and we further pray your honorable body that you will appoint a committee requesting them to visit our city and for themselves to see that we have every improvement stated in our above petition, and that said committee investigate thoroughly the claims of our city now before Congress.

The Memorial could hardly have reached Congress, before W. T. Watson on April 15 sent Wheeler the following telegram: "In the name of God do not concur in the Senate amendment to House Bill 3606 and plunge our County into a bloody county-seat contest. Show this to members of Conference Committee." Watson echoed the local feeling: "Our people are to a man in favor of the bill being killed, rather than to have it pass with the county-seat amendment."

Assistance on the Territorial level came to South Enid and Pond Creek when on April 17 the following telegram was sent to Wheeler:[66] "If amendment to House Bill 3606 should pass, it

H. Bill 3606.

will cause county-seat war, much bloodshed, and endless litigation in these counties. Please aid in its defeat and oblige W. C. Renfrow, Governor."

According to Senator Platt, when trains reduced speed in respect for city ordinances, "the citizens came out and undertook to pull the employees off the train."[67] Thereafter the ordinances were not complied with. Attempts were made at Pond Creek and South Enid to stop the trains by waving red garments, red lanterns, and by placing on the railroad track objects like dynamite caps, a wagon, or a frame building. An effigy stuffed with clothes to look like a man was placed on the track to no avail. F. J. Callahan said that at Pond Creek the citizens did everything they could to cause the trains to stop.[68] He added: "They would shoot at the trains until the passengers got so they would get down on the floor of the cars when they came near the town. No

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66 Tel. from Renfrow to Wheeler, April 17, 1894, NA, Leg. Branch,

67 *Cong. Record,* Aug. 1, 1894, p. 8071.

68 F. J. Callahan, *Indian-Pioneer History,* vol. 88, pp. 23-24; "Intensely Excited," *Daily Oklahoman,* June 13, 1894.

one was ever hurt as the people shot over the cars in order to scare the trainmen."

In the Oklahoma Historical Society is a circular issued "To the People of O County." It is in reply to "a circular headed by the same words," not signed by anyone, but "on paper bearing the water color marks of the Rock Island Road." The railroad circular appealed to voters of the county "not to choose any officer from either town," apparently as a representative to the legislature. The reply circular stressed the "speculations in town lot property in the north town," and opposed a division between city and county voters. It explained that "the Rock Island is after robbing you as well as the City of Enid." Trainmen were charged with notifying "our citizens that they will burn our town and destroy our people."[69]

On May 5, 1894, W. S. Whittinghill, Attorney for the City of South Enid, filed in the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory a petition praying that a writ of mandamus be issued to the railroad company compelling it to build a suitable depot building, and provide sufficient side tracks and other station facilities for the transaction of such business as might be offered at and consigned to South Enid, and that the company stop all its passenger and freight trains at South Enid, and that the company receive and deliver freight and passengers there, and under such rules and regulations as the company might prescribe for all other stations elsewhere established upon its line of railroad, and for such other and further relief as equity might decree.[70]

The petition stated that suitable grounds could be obtained upon the townsite of South Enid, or in close proximity thereto, in sufficient quantity, and suitable for all the requirements of the company upon which to build and maintain all necessary station facilities.

The petition gave the population of North Enid as not more than 1,000, in contrast with that of South Enid where population exceeded 3,500. The dwellings of South Enid were numbered at 512, with 187 more at nearby Jonesville. The various business establishments in South Enid were numbered with total valuation

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[69] A threatening circular, purportedly by the railroad company, but probably a forgery, is in NA, Justice Dept., 6968-1894. A copy is in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[70] Territory of Oklahoma, ex rel., C. A. Galbraith, Att. Gen., *v.* Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, 2 Okla. 108 (1894); files of the supreme court, no. 161; R. L. Williams, "Clinton Alexander Galbraith," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. 22, No. 3 (Sept. 1942), pp. 292-293. City Ordinance No. 57, passed April 3, 1895, consolidated "the town of Jonesville with the City of Enid."

given. The aggregate value of the stocks of goods on hand was $316,435, and the estimated sum paid as freight charges by South Enid dealers to the company was $69,459. This did not include lumber for building houses, freight for furniture, and other costs paid to the railroad. Moreover, South Enid was surrounded by "a thickly settled country contiguous thereto." This further necessitated station facilities. The people of South Enid were denied the "enjoyment of equal privileges as to accommodations and shipping facilities" on the railroad as were extended to businessmen and firms in other towns upon the road. Such was the "unlawful and illegal discrimination" against South Enid. The petition rubbed an old sore with the following assertion:

> Your petitioner is informed and verily believes that said defendant railroad company's officers, agents and employees have at all times since September 16, 1893, and now have large pecuniary interest in the Townsite of North Enid and that by virtue of such interests they are greatly interested in the welfare and growth of said Town of North Enid and as against the City of Enid; that said railroad company's officers, agents and employees, whose names are to your petitioner unknown, have at all times since the Town (now City) of Enid was first opened to settlement under and by virtue of the proclamation of the President of the United States on September 16, 1893, and are now engaged in circulating false and fraudulent reports of and concerning the population and amount of business transacted at the City of Enid, and thereby causing great damage to the welfare and business interests of the City of Enid, and that said false and fraudulent statement and misrepresentations on the part of the officers, agents and other employees of said defendant's company are for the purpose of influencing the actions of the Congress of the United States and thereby obtaining legislation detrimental to the said City of Enid and its interests.

The following reference was made to police power, properly belonging to local government:

> Your petitioner further avers that the business portion of the said City of Enid is located upon the West side of the defendant's railroad track, and that the larger portion of that part of said City which is occupied for residences is located upon the East side of said defendant's railroad track through the city, and that by reason of such locations many persons are compelled to cross and recross said railroad tracks in going from and returning to their homes and daily avocations, and that ever since the incorporation of the said City of Enid the said defendant in utter disregard of human life has habitually run its trains of cars through said City of Enid at a high and dangerous rate of speed thereby rendering exceedingly dangerous for any person or persons to cross the tracks of said defendant's road, and that the said defendant in a contemptuous manner violates the ordinances passed by the council of said city relating to the speed of railway trains running through the limits of said City of Enid.

On May 5, Associate Justice Henry W. Scott issued an alternative writ of mandamus directing the railroad company immediately to establish a suitable depot building and to provide sufficient side tracks and other station facilities for the transaction of such business as might be offered at and consigned to South Enid. The company should stop all of its passenger and freight

trains there. It was further required of the company to receive and deliver freight and passengers at South Enid under such rules and regulations as might be prescribed for all other stations elsewhere established upon the railroad. The alternative was to "show cause" before the Supreme Court on the first day of its next session, and then and there return the writ with proceedings of the company thereunder. Marshal Evett Dumas Nix on May 10 delivered the writ to the railway agent at Enid Station.

By mid-June the point of violence had been reached. Citizens at Pond Creek tore up the track of the railroad for about a hundred yards, in order, as they claimed, to stop a freight train to make arrest of the employees on the train under a violation of their town ordinance for running through the town at a rate of speed faster than that authorized under the ordinance. The freight train was wrecked without loss of life, but with great destruction of property to the railroad company. Two mail and passenger trains came along hours later and were delayed quite a while, one for 24 hours on account of the track being torn up.

Caleb R. Brooks became United States Attorney for the Territory of Oklahoma on May 24, 1894. On June 18 he reported to Richard Olney, Attorney General of the United States, that pending the trouble and the excitement following, he had directed marshals to go to Pond Creek and protect the railroad, and prevent further delay of the mails.[71] In a preliminary hearing before the U. S. Commissioner, Brooks had some of the parties under charge of obstructing and delaying the mails, bound over to the next term of district court. Brooks said that because the company refused to stop its trains in the county-seat towns, there was "considerable bitter feeling" against the railroad, and that there was danger of more violence.

The Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory was sitting with the powers and jurisdiction of the district and circuit courts of the United States. On June 18, Whittinghill filed in the court a brief on the "Original Proceedings in Mandamus." It contains extensive citation of cases, tending to show that mandamus should issue to compel the railroad company to furnish depot facilities to South Enid. The brief concluded:

> Here we have a case without parallel in the annals of jurisprudence. The government of the U.S.—the sovereign power—locating a townsite on the line of a railroad in operation before the country was opened to settlement, and designating such town as a county seat, and establishing thereat a U. S. Land Office where thousands of persons must of necessity come to transact the business incident to securing homes on the public lands, and inviting the people from every part of the country to come and make their homes in the new town; and on the other hand a rail-

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71 Brooks to Olney, June 18, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968-1894.

road company operating in said territory, and through said town, by virtue of the same authority which established such town, and yet utterly refusing to discharge those duties which it owes to the public in general, and which are enjoined upon it by the terms of its franchise.

Attorneys for the railroad company were John Ichabod Dille and Harper S. Cunningham.[72] Dille had been appointed by President Benjamin Harrison as the first register of the Guthrie land office, from which position he resigned on March 31, 1892. He was destined to serve as president of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, and become president of the Oklahoma Bar Association. Cunningham had served in the Territorial legislature, and was destined to succeed Clinton Alexander Galbraith as Attorney General of Oklahoma Territory.

On June 21, 1894, Dille and Cunningham filed in the Supreme Court a motion to quash the alternative writ issued by Justice Scott. They asserted that the cause was not brought in the name of the real party in interest, that Whittinghill had no power or authority to use the name of the Territory as plaintiff, that the Territory of Oklahoma had no interest whatever in the result of the cause, and that the court had no jurisdiction of the subject matter of the action.

On June 28 Galbraith, Attorney General of the Territory of Oklahoma, requested the court to substitute him for Whittinghill in the case, and that he be granted leave to amend the pleadings then on file in that respect. Dille and Cunningham understood that this request was made because the court held that South Enid and its City Attorney had no interest in the subject matter of the action. They asked the court not to entertain the application of Galbraith. They asserted that the power to amend could not be extended to the substitution of a party who had a cause of action in lieu of a person who had no cause of action, but who had instituted proceedings in the court. They called this "a new action by a new party under the guise of an amendment." They called attention to Section 3995 of the *Oklahoma Statutes, 1893,* which states: "The title of a cause shall not be changed in any of its stages." They added:

> Any procedure that would permit a person who had no knowledge of the existence or institution of an action for months after it had been begun, to come into court and become the sole party plaintiff in such action when the original plaintiff had no interest in the subject matter of the action, is radically wrong,—and while this Court is making precedents for the future guidance of this Territory, such a doctrine should be repudiated.

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[72] A picture of Dille and a sketch of his life are in *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* vol. 16, p. 124; see also *Oklahoma Magazine,* vol. 3, p. 32. A picture of Cunningham and a sketch of his life are in *Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma,* pp. 51-53.

On June 29 a petition almost identical to that filed by Whittinghill on May 5, was filed in the Supreme Court. It was signed by Galbraith as Attorney General, and by Whittinghill as counsel. On the same day Chief Justice Frank Dale issued an alternative writ of mandamus, almost identical to that issued by Justice Scott on May 5. The alternative was for the company in court on July 9 to show cause of noncompliance.

On July 10 Dille and Cunningham filed in the court a return to the alternate writ of mandamus. They estimated the population of North Enid as 1,000, and that at South Enid as 1,200. They stated that at North Enid the company had selected a station site on level ground where there was "a favorable grade, plenty of good water, and is the proper distance in the section from other stations designated and located." The depot, side tracks, and other station facilities, including a pumping station and water tank, had been constructed at "great cost and in a substantial manner," as designated on a map approved by the Secretary of the Interior. Facilities were sufficient "for the accommodation of all its patrons, both present and prospective."

The company had at all times published and made known to the public, and to all its patrons that it had established and maintained stations at North Enid and Waukomis, and that from these points only would it receive, discharge and carry freight and passengers. There had been no discrimination whatever among persons, for all were treated alike in the matter of railroad traffic. The company had no grounds at or near South Enid for station purposes, and although the townsite had been platted, the title to the land was still in the United States. Dille and Cunningham estimated that to construct a depot, and facilities for it, at South Enid would cost the company $80,000, exclusive of the grounds on which to locate same. The estimated annual cost of maintaining a depot there was $6,000. Dille and Cunningham said of South Enid:

> That the lands on which said city is located are badly broken, and where defendant's right of way crosses the same, consists of hills and hollows; that said right of way through the entire corporate limits of said city consists of deep cuts and heavy fills; that it is impracticable to locate and maintain a depot, side tracks and station facilities at or near said city of Enid; that the grade of defendant's track at said place is such that if trains are stopped at that point, a full train of cars could not be hauled up the grade; that said grade is as heavy as any grade on defendant's line of road from Herington, Kansas, to Chickasha, Indian Territory, two whole divisions of defendant's line of road, and a distance of several hundred miles; that to stop trains at said point would decrease the hauling capacity of defendant's engine at least two cars of freight to each train; that the moving of cars, and the standing of cars on the track, in close proximity to such a grade would necessarily be dangerous to life and property; that it would be impracticable to use the yards and side tracks, when constructed, because of the immense fills and cuts between the same and the business and residence of parts of said city.

At the time the city of Enid became a city of the first class, two-thirds of its population consisted of persons who were temporarily attached to that place by the opening to homestead settlement of the adjacent country, and who were not *bona fide* residents of said city, and had no intention of making it their home; that said city became a city of the first class by taking advantage of the temporary presence of such persons, and by counting them as *bona fide* residents of such city, and that a city of the first class could not have been incorporated under the law, without so doing, for the lack of population; that most of the public lands in the land district in which said city is located have now been entered, and said persons have left said city.

Dille and Cunningham explained that with the decline of population after the incorporation of the town, the "improvements in the city and business of all kinds therein have decreased in like proportion." The attorneys described North Enid as "a large, flourishing and prosperous town, with stores and business houses, all kinds of shops and business establishments and manufacturing plants." The town was "improving rapidly and growing in population daily." The attorneys concluded that it would be exceedingly unfair and unjust to the people of North Enid and to the company to compel the removal of the station to South Enid. To require two stations within a distance of three miles would be "unjust and oppressive."

On July 11, Dille and Cunningham filed in the court the following statement: "Comes now the defendant in said cause and objects to the trial of the same before the next term of this court, objects to the appointment of a referee and demands a trial by jury when said cause comes on regularly for trial under the law upon the issues of fact." Where an issue of fact was raised in mandamus pleadings, either party could properly demand a trial by jury. The Supreme Court had no machinery for securing a jury, paying its members, or securing the attendance of witnesses. The court was faced with "the seemingly harsh method" of depriving South Enid of relief by mandamus, or of denying the railroad company a trial by jury. Justice A. G. Curtin Bierer said it was a "rather harsh rule to say that a party may come to this forum with his grievance, in order to have it adjusted and judicially determined by the court, and at the same time say that when the other party has filed an answer which puts in issue certain facts, which may be true or not true, and upon that demands a jury, that, by reason of the fact of such answer and such issue and such demand for a jury, the plaintiff must go out of court and not have the matter determined." Chief Justice Frank Dale concluded that a trial could be had by jury in the district court at an early day, and that the Supreme Court should take no further action.

Galbraith and Whittinghill on July 12 asked the court to dismiss the action without prejudice and at the cost of "the plaintiff,"

Form No. 1.

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THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

NUMBER 67 SENT BY Tf RECD BY 3a 33 CHECK Paid Critder

RECEIVED at 314 PA. AVE. S. E. APRIL. 17TH 189

Dated Guthrie O T 17

To Gen Joseph Wheeler No 12 B st ne

If amendment to house Bill thirty Six ought Six should Pass it will cause County Seat War, much Blood shed and Endless Litigation in these Counties Please Aid in its defeat and oblige

Wm. C Renfrow - Governor

ENID "RAILROAD WAR"

OBJECTION TO THE TRIAL OF SAID CAUSE AT ANY TIME PRIOR TO THE NEXT TERM OF THIS COURT? AND DEMAND FOR TRIAL BY JURY.

Comes now the defendant in said cause and objects to the trial of the same before the next term of this court, objects to the appointment of a referee and demands a trial by jury when said cause comes on regularly for trial under the law upon the issues of fact.

John Dolle
M Cunningham

Attys. for Defendant.

On July 12, 1894, attorneys for South Enid admitted that this document terminated hope of relief from the supreme court. That night the famed trestle was cut.

probably South Enid. Certain newspapers hopefully watched court proceedings, and quickly expressed disappointment over the defeat of the city. On July 5, *Coming Events* had noted that the common law, and not the statute law governed the case. It added:

> This is decidedly in favor of Enid, as under the common law, the railroad will have to be treated as a common carrier. As such the only question will be one of equity, or justice. Under this condition it seems a very easy task to show that justice and equity both would require that a common carrier should not only stop at, but build and maintain depots, sidings, etc., at a city of 4,000 people, and from which the railroad is receiving hundreds of dollars every day, directly or indirectly. Enid will come out on top, and you need not have any fears.

An Associated Press report from Guthrie on July 12 noted the outcome of the case, and said: "This is virtually a victory for the railway company as it gives them a year or more time, and it is feared the people of Pond Creek and Enid who have lost their last hope will resort to desperate measures." The concluding part of this study will tell of "desperate measures" in the Railroad War," including what is perhaps the best known train wreck in Oklahoma history. It will be explained how Congress ended the conflict by requiring the railroad company to establish depots at South Enid and Pond Creek.

Part III

Congressional Action Terminates the "Railroad War"

Previous parts of this study explained how seven Cherokees took allotments near the stations of North Enid and Pond Creek, how the Secretary of the Interior established townsites three miles south of the stations, and how citizens of the towns on July 12, 1894, failed to secure judicial action requiring the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company to establish depots for them. Account is now given of "desperate measures" and of congressional action terminating the "Railroad War."

It has been explained that by mid-June, 1894, the point of violence had been reached. On June 23, Ransom R. Cable, President of the company, sent the following telegram to Richard Olney, Attorney General of the United States:[73]

> Parties at Round Pond and Enid, Oklahoma Territory, have been giving this company considerable trouble. At Round Pond blowing up bridges and at Enid making threats of like violence. The interference with interstate transportation and United States mails is serious. Local authorities indifferent and something seems to be needed at the hands of the general government. Can you issue positive directions to the United States Attorney that will lead to prompt and effective measures for the suppression of this violence and prosecution of offenders.

On the same day W. O. Duncan, United States Commissioner, reported that the end of a little bridge north of Pond Creek had been blown up. He said that the good citizens of Pond Creek denounced such action, and that they were "as noble a set of men and women" as "ever inhaled the pure atmosphere of this Strip, or any other country." He said that they believed they could apprehend the offenders. The penalty for wilfully obstructing or retarding the passage of the mail was a fine of not more $100.00.

Brooks thought the city ordinance requiring trains to run not faster than six miles an hour through the city was reasonable, and that if the railroad would comply, there would be no further trouble. In describing the situation to Olney, Brooks said:

> There is a terrible mean state of feeling, and even though the citizens of the town do discontinue such work, as they claim, yet there are a worthless set of people through there who take advantage of the present trouble between the Railroad and the people at Round Pond and are ready to commit all kinds of depredations, and the people of Round Pond will not aid in pointing out or let the names of the parties be known.
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> I have had the United States Marshal send some trusty deputies there to find out the parties if possible and to prevent as far as they can further depredations. The Territorial and County officers there will not or don't seem inclined to make any arrests or to suppress or prevent

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[73] Tel. from Cable to Olney, June 23, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968—1894. Cable was president from June 6, 1883, to June 1, 1898. See also Duncan to Brooks, June 23, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968—1894.

the depredations, and it is only when they delay the mail trains that we can take hold of the matter.

I called on the Governor of the Territory yesterday and after a conference with him, he agreed to go over there today and look personally into the matter. He feels inclined to think that the people there have been treated badly by the Railroad, yet he will not, he says, tolerate this kind of work.

Brooks must have included South Enid when he wrote: "There are other towns along the line of the Rock Island Railroad whose people have as yet committed no direct violations, but they are encouraging the people at Round Pond and may be aiding in these depredations in the name of Round Pond."[74]

It was in this strained situation that the people of South Enid learned that the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory would take no action in their case. In June, two railroad bridges across the Salt Fork of the Arkansas had been dynamited, and a bridge across Wild Horse Creek near Kremlin was burned. Settlers on the frontier usually could find a solution to a local problem when left entirely to their own resources. *Coming Events* on July 12 made the situation clear: "It is evident there is no justice to be found in our courts." It was reported that the railroad had taken off its armed deputy marshals and substituted Pinkerton men. The newspaper called this "the worst insult the government towns has yet received from the corporation." Rumor had it that the local officers would arrest every one of this "invoice of criminals" on sight.

At dawn on Friday, July 13, occurred the best known train wreck of the "Railroad War."[75] Bridge supports of a trestle were sawed in two obliquely, wrecking a freight train of fourteen cars and a caboose. Marshal Evett Dumas Nix at Guthrie immediately sent the following telegram to Attorney General Olney: "Trouble has broken out again at Enid and Pond Creek, O. T. Two bridges blown up. Tracks being torn up. Governor wired for troops. I ask for authority to employ sufficient number of deputies to protect property, enforce the law, and preserve peace."[76] Olney promptly sent the following instructions to Brooks:

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[74] Low to Brooks, June 25, 1894, *ibid.;* Brooks to Richard Olney, June 25, 1894, *ibid.;* Brooks to Duncan, June 25, 1894, *ibid.; U. S. Rev. Statutes, 1873,* Sec. 3995.

[75] "Simply Awful: Not Dynamite but a Saw," *Enid Daily Wave,* July 13, 1894; Mrs. F. W. Buttrey, *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. 72, pp. 457-459; Rainey, *loc. cit.* Tradition has it that the sawing was done by a former track-laying foreman and a dozen men; Ken Bonham, *Enid Morning News,* Sept. 24, 1961. The *Wave* reported that on the morning of July 13 the track was torn up at Pond Creek.

[76] Tel. from Nix to Att. Gen., July 13, 1894, NA, J. D., Okla. File 16-1-59A; tel. from Att. Gen. to Brooks, July 13, 1894, *ibid.,* Record Group 60, p. 273; tel. from Att. Gen. to Nix, July 14, 1894, *ibid.,* p. 289; tel. from Att. Gen. to Brooks, July 19, 1894, *ibid.,* p. 378.

Reported to this Department that railroad trains carrying mails and engaged in interstate commerce in Cherokee Strip are obstructed, resulting in much wanton destruction of property and injury to persons. Take immediate steps to prevent such outrages and to punish persons engaged therein by procuring such warrants and orders from court as may be proper and directing Marshal to execute the same by such number of deputies or posse as may be necessary. Please report at once as to situation.

According to Marquis James, the wrecked freight was "the first train to stop in South Town." The *Wave* never advocated or defended any of the acts of lawlessness committed. But it said that "the great cause of all this lawlessness" resulted from the refusal of the railroad company to observe city ordinances. It added:

When and how soon are they going to sell Indian allotment lots enough to pay all the damage done their railroad or is liable to be done it in the future. The *Wave* ventures the assertion that if they would sell every lot contained in all their allotments at $2,000 each, they would not have money enough to pay the damage this fight will cost them if they keep it up.

Coming Events on July 19 in reporting the wreck, echoed its long-standing position as the official organ of the People's Party of O County: "This fight is one between this community and a gigantic railroad corporation. We are waging the same war against every railroad that we are against this one. Our fight is for government railroads; and this matter of the cities of Enid and Pond Creek is but another argument in its favor."

By Saturday, July 14, 6 p.m., the trestle was repaired and one freight train after another rolled into South Enid. One of them carried a troop of cavalry soldiers and their horses, bound for that town and Pond Creek. On Sunday afternoon a train "containing sixty brave boys assigned to duty in 'O' County stopped at the E street crossing. This was "the first train to actually stop with the will of the operators since the opening." The *Enid Daily Wave* printed the troop roster. The citizens of South Enid went quietly about their business, and welcomed the troops in a hospitable manner. The railroad employed men to patrol the tracks, and South Enid and Pond Creek were put under martial law. The damage done to the railroad was not within the corporate limits of South Enid and Pond Creek, but extended up and down the railroad several miles from the city limits. Thus the disorders were outside the jurisdiction of city officials. Public sympathy was against the railroad, and the *Enid Daily Wave* heard no local regrets expressed. Brooks on July 14 gave the following account of the situation:[77]

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[77] Brooks to Olney, July 14, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968-1894. The Organic Act of May 2, 1890, is in 26 *Statutes*, 85.

Citizens of the towns feigned ignorance of the whole trouble, and some claimed that the railroad people committed the depredations. Some persons sent affidavits to Brooks, charging that they had seen dynamite thrown along the track from the trains.

We have had deputy marshals there ever since the trouble occurring there some weeks ago, until ten days ago, they were withdrawn on the promise from the people that no further trouble would occur. Immediately on information of the recent depredations we dispatched deputy U. S. Marshals there but they claim that they were unable to cope with the trouble although no depredations were committed after they reached the scene.

The great trouble I find in prosecuting the offenders is to identify the guilty parties. The depredations are committed secretly and the people of the towns will give no aid in apprehending the parties, and the local authorities will not lend assistance, claiming all the time to deplore the condition of affairs and asserting their willingness to assist in suppressing the trouble, but always ignorant of the identity of the guilty parties; and the prosecutions must under the Organic Act be had in the County, and the officers and citizens all being in sympathy with the guilty parties, it is impossible to secure proof or to get the law enforced. . . . If I could arrest the guilty parties and have their cases heard outside of these Counties, I could soon break up this work, but they know that they can be tried by and among their friends and sympathizers and boast of the protection they have in this right.

Nix construed the telegram of July 13 from the Attorney General to mean that he should place South Enid and Pond Creek under martial law, if necessary to quell the disturbance.[78] He considered diplomacy better than a show of force. He went alone to Pond Creek and there found "a hundred citizens lined up with Winchesters and shotguns in hand, waiting for what they thought would be an attack by a large group of deputy marshals." There, and at South Enid, Nix appealed to the citizens to follow a better plan of procedure, and bloodshed was avoided.

On July 16, Deputy Chris Madsen sent the following telegram to Brooks: "Two bridges were burned near Pond Creek this morning. One dynamite cartridge exploded under passenger train Saturday night, and attempt to blow up Enid bridge same night. Soldiers ordered by citizens to leave town and one soldier shot at. Many citizens ordered to leave Enid within 24 hours."

Thomas J. Lowe was Acting Governor of Oklahoma Territory, or an officeholder in the Interior Department. In the following letter he wrote on July 16 to President Cable is an echo from Secretary Smith and Senator Berry:[79]

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[78] E. D. Nix, *Oklahombres,* pp. 159-163. Nix had some deputies employed along the line of the railroad to prevent interference with interstate commerce laws and obstruction of the mails.

[79] Lowe to Cable, July 16, 1894, *Cong. Record,* Aug. 1, 1894, p. 8065; "Trains Must Stop at Enid," *Enid Daily Wave,* July 18, 1894.

A state of facts exists in this Territory which is calamitous to the best interests of Oklahoma and to your railway company. To accurately locate the responsibility for this state of affairs is not the purpose of this letter, but I desire to call your attention to the conditions which do exist and for which conditions you have the remedy within your power to relieve.

When the Cherokee Strip was opened to settlement, your company was operating a line of railway from Caldwell, south, through said Strip. It had located along its line a few stations which were primarily built for the convenience of the railway company, and such stations were not intended or expected to be of a permanent character, or to control the building of cities and towns along the line of your road in the Cherokee Strip.

Prior to the opening of the Strip the Secretary of the Interior, in accordance with the act of Congress opening such land to settlement, laid out two county-seat towns on your line of railway, known as Round Pond and Enid. Your company, or the managers who control the operation of your road in this Territory refused to give to such county-seat towns depot facilities. You know the result of the attempt of these people to procure legislation from Congress to aid them in securing proper depot facilities for their towns. Of late many acts of violence have been perpetrated by irresponsible people connected with the towns of Round Pond and Enid, causing great destruction of your property, impeding United States mails and interstate commerce, and endangering life, and as acting governor of this Territory I am called upon daily for protection to your property.

This condition of affairs is lamentable in the extreme, and I wish to say to you, as president of the Rock Island Railway Company, that I believe your company to be in a great measure responsible for the destruction of property and for the lawless condition which exists, and take this occasion to say to you that I think your company has gone as far as it ought to go in withholding from the people of those county-seat towns what, I do not hesitate to say, they are clearly entitled to upon equity and fair dealing between a corporation and citizens of a town.

I wish to call your attention to the further fact that the mayors and common council at both Round Pond and Enid have passed ordinances regulating the speed of railway trains through their corporate limits. That came strictly within the statute. That, I am informed, your company unhesitatingly violates those ordinances; have made no pretense whatever of obeying them, and publicly defy the lawful authorities of those cities.

As acting governor of this Territory I now respectfully call upon you to see to it that your company, by its agents, cease violating the ordinances of the cities of Round Pond and Enid, through which your trains run, and thereby set an example to the people who are disposed to injure your property of obedience to law. And I will take this occasion further to call your attention to the fact that it is commonly reported, and I believe the same to be true, that your company, for the purpose of subserving the private interests of a few of the parties who are managing and operating the line which runs through Oklahoma, have undertaken to injure, and if possible obliterate from existence the county-seat towns of Round Pond and Enid for the sole and only purpose of enriching themselves by the sale of town lots in rival towns.

I do not know whether you are a party to this scheme or not. I have always been of the opinion that the Rock Island Railway Company was a corporation primarily created for the benefit of the public and not

for the benefit of the private interests of a few of its managers. Its stockholders can obtain no advantage whatever by pursuing the course which it has been pursuing in this Territory. Its best interests are unquestionably lost sight of in the further carrying out of the policy so far inaugurated and carried on.

While as acting governor of this Territory I shall do everything in my power to uphold law and order, yet I deem it my duty to say to you as President of the Rock Island Railway Company that the action of such company toward the county-seat towns referred to, is an act of gross injustice which the company itself ought to correct and which the people of this Territory will correct as soon as the legislature convenes, unless you, of your own motion, shall do away with the evil.

The people both at Round Pond and Enid have repeatedly offered to bear all the expenses which your company will be to in putting in depot facilities and side trackage in their cities. Those towns were laid out by the Government and the good faith of the Government pledged to those people who would settle within the limits of such towns. In most instances they went there with their all. They have built their homes and established their business with the view of spending their days in the town where they have settled. Round Pond is a place of from twelve to fifteen hundred inhabitants; Enid is a place of from two to three thousand inhabitants. Both of them are established county-seat towns; both of them have post-offices and a large trade center at both places, and why the officers of your company should permit a few of its selfish managers to attempt to destroy such cities is beyond my comprehension and must unquestionably work disastrously to the interests of your company.

I appeal to you as president of a great corporation to do these people justice, and I demand at the hands of your company an observance of the laws of the cities through which your company runs its trains.

I address this to you personally in the belief that you have not heretofore had this matter before you in such a way that you understood the gross injustice which your company was perpetrating upon these people, and in the hope that you will at once take steps to correct such injustice.

I hope to hear from you at once upon this matter.

On July 17, Madsen sent the following telegram to Brooks:[80]

Coming over on extra tonight with the Military, we passed over two bombs inside of the city limits of Round Pond, which had evidently been placed to explode as we passed. They exploded when we had passed about one hundred yards. While not caring to meddle with Territorial affairs, I must say that it will be necessary to at once suspend sheriffs and other officers and put in their place men who will attend to their duty fearlessly, and if there is any way by which it can be done lawfully, every house should be searched at once for dynamite.

From Guthrie on July 17, Brooks wrote that in the two counties concerned, the Territorial officials were standing in with the offenders, and that citizens who were inclined to give information were threatened and intimidated, and the soldiers were not sufficient in number to deter the mobs. He concluded:

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[80] Tel. from Madsen to Brooks, July 17, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968-1894; Brooks to Olney, July 17, 1894, *ibid.*

The situation is growing worse instead of better. I have requested the Territorial authorities to remove the sheriff and other Territorial officers there, and send others in their stead who will aid in suppressing the trouble, but have been unable to get this done. The Marshal is preparing to send an additional force of deputies there today. We get irregular reports from there from the fact that the wire is cut a great portion of the time.

The *Enid Daily Wave* on July 17 stated that "all trains stop" at Enid and Jonesville: "It is quite amusing to see the engineer climb down from his engine and walk across the bridges on tiptoe as slyly as a cat, and motion the fireman to come ahead. The poor fireman takes the chances of going down or up." The newspaper on July 18 carried Ordinance No. 47 of South Enid passed the day previous. The ordinance required all trains to stop within 200 feet of E street and send a man ahead to "flag the same across the full width of said street." Punishment for violation of the ordinance included fine and imprisonment. It was rumored that the Santa Fe Railroad Company wanted the Rock Island to end the "war." If the struggle continued it was likely that "Oklahoma, when it gets to be a state, will pass railroad legislation that will be a yoke on the necks of railroads." In Chicago the Rock Island was one of the railroads involved in the Pullman strike, a serious affair concerning the transport of mails, and demanding the attention of officials of the railroad and of the government.

Railroad officials on July 18 appealed to Attorney General Olney and to the Secretary of War[81]. President Cable sent the following telegram to Olney:

On the thirteenth inst., the Acting Governor, United States Attorney Brooks, and United States Marshal Nix of Oklahoma, after consulting with the Supreme Court requested Secretary of War through Secretary of the Interior to send federal troops to Enid and Pond Creek in that Territory. The Marshal assured us that with this he would give us full protection. This message was sent because of mob violence at those places, manifested in destroying our bridges, tearing up our tracks, and interfering with our trains carrying mail and interstate commerce and of such strength that it could not be, or was not, met by ordinary local authorities. That condition continues and has grown worse, constituting that domestic violence which on the request of the Governor already made, justifies the interposition of the general government. I have been in communication with the Secretary of War for several days, who first advised me that a request would have to come from Territorial or Federal officers. Today he informs me that troops cannot be used except to enforce orders of federal court after the marshal advises that he cannot execute them unaided. It is difficult to find a judge of the court to whom to submit application for injunction. In the meantime we are being damaged in the actual destruction of property, and the carriage of the mails and interstate commerce seriously interrupted, and actually no

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81 Tel. from Cable to Olney, July 18, 1894, *ibid.;* tel. from Wright to J. H. Gear, July 18, 1894, *ibid.;* tel. from Brooks to Olney, July 18, 1894, *ibid.*

adequate power to prevent it unless the government, exercising its authority in the Territory, will on the existing request of the Governor, use troops to suppress domestic violence. The situation is perilous and urgent. If we cannot have protection, we must abandon operation of line south of Kansas. Please answer.

Thomas S. Wright, general attorney for the railroad company, on July 18 sent the following telegram to Representative John Henry Gear of Iowa:

At and in the vicinity of South Enid and Round Pond in the Cherokee Strip, mobs are constantly firing and blowing up bridges on our road. Application has been made for federal protection and a small company, entirely inadequate for the purpose, has been sent. Message today to the Secretary of War asking additional protection; four or five companies are necessary to suppress violence until such time as guilty parties can be discovered, arrested, and convicted. Please see the Secretary and do what you can to assist our trains, as the result of the last violence the destruction of an important bridge, will be delayed at least 24 hours, thus interfering with the mails and interstate commerce to that extent [*sic*].

On July 18, Brooks made to Olney the following recommendation concerning John L. McAtee of Enid, a member of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory:

If proper, direct the judge of the district, McAtee, to hear preliminary trials under warrants for obstructing mails. If I can get him to hear these cases outside of the counties of 'L' and 'O', say in Kingfisher County, I believe I can check the trouble, but no use to issue warrants to be heard by commissioner in the counties where depredations are occurring. Give authority to take them out of county and direct McAtee to hear the cases. I have some show to check it.

Brooks suggested that Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, be requested to direct the Governor to suspend or remove the sheriff and deputies at Pond Creek. Smith replied that the district court for the Territory of Oklahoma had exclusive jurisdiction to remove a sheriff from his office.

On July 19, Attorney General Olney telegraphed Brooks as follows: "Consult with Chief Justice Dale as to best mode of securing such judicial assistance as you may require to enable you to prevent interference with mails and interstate commerce, and to punish persons engaged in such interference. Have wired him on the subject." In accordance with the request of Brooks, Dale promptly directed McAtee to "go to Kingfisher and remain until Brooks is through with work in his district." On July 19, Nix sent Olney the following telegram:[82]

I will go with increased forces to Enid and Pond Creek and will enforce instructions if possible. Have had some of my best deputies along the line together with soldiers and railroad guards that have been stationed along line. Presumed depredations would end but find force not sufficient. Impossible to find out men connected with these mobs. Parties arrested should be tried in some other county. Officers in these counties

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82 Tel. from Nix to Att. Gen., July 19, 1894, *ibid.*

are in sympathy with the towns. Seems county and city officers have refused to do anything toward enforcing the law thereby encouraging such depredations.

Lowe and Nix on July 20 went to South Enid. Lowe said that destruction of property must cease, in which case he predicted that in the course of sixty days the company would proceed to erect a depot there. Lowe added: "The railroad company has agreed to obey your city ordinances in regard to speed through the city, but as to the ordinance requiring them to stop at E Street, I think you had better not try to enforce it, as it will only cause you trouble."[83]

The Reverend Festus Foster, Pastor of the Congregational Church in South Enid, in an open letter wrote that "the opinion of a United States Marshal or a Governor has no weight in deciding the constitutionality of a city ordinance." The *Enid Daily Wave* stated that the army was being used to prevent patriotic government towns from enforcing their own ordinances.

President Cable on July 20 wrote to John L. Wiggins, City Clerk of South Enid, that it would be early enough for conferences "when order is restored and the outraged law properly vindicated." The next day the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* of Guthrie reviewed the situation and concluded: "The whole scheme was hatched by official intrigue and boodle, and at the bottom of it were a few so-called Indians, two officers of the Rock Island Railroad Company and a few other men who styled themselves the 'Rock Island Company.'" The paper added that the railroad was entitled to no protection as long as it defied ordinances passed by any incorporated town, and which ordinances had not been declared illegal by the highest tribunal.

By July 23, the military had the situation well in hand. On that day General Nelson A. Miles sent the following telegram to the Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, Chicago:

> Left Enid 4:30 p.m. with all available forces including ten deputy marshals. Arrived at Round Pond 5:35. A strong and aggressive display of our forces was made and people notified that any offensive act would be considered as hostile with the result that we met with no opposition. Nineteen of the most prominent men of the town were arrested including Mayor Bankers, Chief of Police, etc. Have sent orders to troops from Supply to remain at Woodward until further orders.

Events of the last two weeks of July included some violence, exciting judicial matters that extended to Kingfisher, and a spectacular military arrest of Charles Sherer by Captain James O. Mackay. An account of these events, although readable, and extensive enough to comprise a magazine article, may be briefly summarized here because there was more verbosity than action

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[83] "Give up the Fight, Boys," *Enid Daily Wave,* July 20, 1894; Cable to Wiggins, July 20, 1894, *ibid.,* July 21, 1894.

in a tense, or perhaps unusual atmosphere. On July 23, Brooks wrote:[84]

> There is a strange class of people here; the citizens generally over the Territoy are in sympathy with the people at Enid and Round Pond over what they claim to be "their fight with the Rock Island Railroad," and the encouragement given them by such citizens has emboldened them in their depredations; and then the officers here have to a great extent treated the matter with indifference, as they do everything else until they get instructions from Washington. They act as if they should not take steps in any matter to suppress crime or violations of law until the Departments suggest to or command them.

Nix was of the opinion that until some influence was brought to bear upon the railroad company to put depots at Enid and Pond Creek, there would be trouble along the railroad line. He noted that Enid had a population of nearly 4,000, and added: "I do not believe there is a town in the whole country of its size this distance from a depot." Citizens believed they were fighting for a just cause.

By July 24, Nix had the names of about 50 men "connected with the gang" who committed depredations at Pond Creek, and had listed names of several men "connected with the mob at Enid." There was local complaint that at Kingfisher, Justice McAtee had set up a Star Chamber Court for trying these men.[85] Brooks sent Attorney General Olney the following telegram:

> I have reason to fear that Judge McAtee will decide that he cannot sit as a court to hear preliminary trials in the cases against offenders [in L] and O Counties and will refer the cases back to the counties to be heard there before a justice of the peace. If he does this, we will be unable to stop the depredations against the Railroad. We can do no good by preliminary hearings in those counties. The law cannot be enforced there. This is why I asked you to wire McAtee before. If he decides that he will not hear these cases and they must be tried in those counties, we are utterly without power to enforce the law. He will decide in the morning. He has no U.S. Commissioner in his district and certainly has the power and it is his duty to hear these cases. Please wire him to hear them as first proposed.

At Kingfisher on July 25, McAtee heard the case of United States v. W. O. Duncan et al., and noted that he was assigned to hold terms of court in each county in his district, at certain designated places, including Enid and Pond Creek. He concluded: "I therefore find that I have no jurisdiction to hear the

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[84] Brooks to Att. Gen., July 23, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968—1894; Nix to Att. Gen., July 24, 1894, *ibid.*

[85] On July 24 the Attorney General sent Nix the following telegram: "Complaints are received here from Mayor and citizens of Enid that deputy marshals arrest prisoners without cause, do not take them before nearest commissioner, and are otherwise arbitrary and lawless in their proceedings. Please report fully on these points, and as to the whole situation."

preliminary examination in these cases in this county, and the demurrer to the jurisdiction will be sustained. These cases will be heard in 'L' County and 'O' County, beginning tomorrow morning at Pond Creek." As the finding concluded, the audience in the courtroom broke into applause, which McAtee immediately suppressed, saying that he disliked demonstrations in the courtroom, either for or against his rulings. The *Wichita Daily Eagle* gave the following report of events on July 25:

> At 6 o'clock 45 of the Pond Creek and Enid boys formed in front of the Kingfisher Hotel and, headed by the Kingfisher band, marched to the depot. Several speeches were made, and a hearty vote of thanks tendered the people of Kingfisher for hospitality during the few days here. Daddy Nix had charge of the boys and was loudly cheered for his kind and courteous treatment of all. There were over 50 of the boys here and they were cared for at the Kingfisher Hotel, Landlord Dean being equal for the occasion.
>
> It is understood that the legality of the warrant is questionable and the whole posse will be released. Governor Renfrow passed through town today and assured the people that a depot would be built at Enid and Pond Creek.

There were further judicial gestures in which men were held to appear before the grand jury, but these were of little importance.[86] July 28 was set for hearing the injunction petition from the government towns to compel the Rock Island Railway Company to slow up trains when passing through the towns in obedience to city ordinances. W. F. Evans of Topeka and John I. Dille of El Reno were present to represent the company. "Before the case had been called, a telegram was received from Mayor Franke of Pond Creek, asking that no further action be taken in the injunction, as it would be a violation of the truce agreed upon between the citizens and the company." The attorney representing Pond Creek withdrew the injunction petition, and thus the matter ended. Congress was on the verge of taking effective action.

We should pause to note how the military suppressed violence in communities where local officials would give no assistance, and where guilty parties could not be brought to trial outside their respective counties. The arrest of Charles Sherer illustrates this procedure. When the freight train was wrecked at South Enid on July 13, Captain Mackay proceeded to that place with two officers and 41 men. They arrived on the evening of July 14, and a large crowd "jeered us lustily." About 2 a.m. a violent explosion was heard at the north side of town where an effort had been made to dynamite a bridge. Other acts of violence

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[86] Tel. from McAtee to Olney, July 28, 1894, *ibid.* In regard to the dismissal of suits, see Att. Gen. to Brooks, March 23, 1895, NA, J. D., *Instruction Book.* vol. 49, p. 379.

occurred the next few days which kept the soldiers busy. Mackay said he used "forcible language about the city and county officials being culpable for allowing such things" to occur.[87] The arrest can best be related in the words of Mackay and Sherer. Mackay wrote:

On the nights of 19th and 20th, in accordance with a previous arrangement which had been effected through the voluntary efforts of Corporal Morlton Gleaves, Troop "A," 3rd Cav., with my consent and by my direction entering into a conspiracy with one Sherer and others to permit the bridge over which he was on guard to be burnt. I marched all available men of my troop, Lt. Hedekin and 22 men by circuitous route to position not 150 yards from bridge to be burnt, by crawling on our stomachs some distance and concealing ourselves in the shadow of a small depression, intending by the punishment meted out to criminals caught in the act to produce a wholesome impression on the lawless element of the community.

An accidental freight train stopped at bridge revealed our presence and frightened the conspirators, two of whom were talking to Corporal Gleaves, when they immediately grasped him by the throat and shot him in the side; two of them opened fire on us from the bridge, one of them cautioning distinctly, "fire low." My party immediately advanced and fired a few shots, but the conspirators aided by debris of wreck, escaped. Too much praise cannot be given Corpl. Gleaves for his voluntary efforts and exceptional bravery, his life being in constant danger. Proceeding from the encounter, leaving a strong guard at bridge and some men to bring back the horses to camp, at the written request of Deputy U.S. Marshal Hall, I assisted in arrest of Sherer, one of the conspirators; he was taken to my camp and from there disposed of according to the law by civil authorities.

On July 20, John C. Moore sent a telegram to the Secretary of War, stating that Mackay had taken Sherer "from his bed in this city. The troops procured ropes and threatened to hang him and spirited him away to parts unknown. Called A. R. Elliott from his bed and in the presence of his wife threatened to take his life. This was in the peaceful hours of the night and without warrant process or criminal charges. Will prepare and forward charges under the articles of war."[88] Sherer related the matter thus:

About two or three o'clock, so they told me, I was asleep on a cot in the room. They called me. The first thing I knew the soldiers were there. Told me they wanted me to get up that they wanted me. Captain Mackay was in the room. I asked what they wanted. They said, "That's

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[87] Mackay to Capt. Frank D. Baldwin, July 28, 1894, NA, J. D., 6968—1894; Tel. from Nix to Att. Gen., July 26, 1894, *ibid.;* Capt. William Auman to Baldwin, July 28, 1894, *ibid.;* Baldwin to Asst. Adj. Gen., Dept. of the Mo., July 31, 1894, *ibid.*

[88] On July 26, 1894, Acting Mayor W. T. Watson sent a telegram to the Attorney General, commending Nix for "prudent conduct in management of the troublesome and difficult affair growing out of the prosecution at Enid and Round Pond." Watson also commended the intelligent discharge of duty by the deputy marshals, but "we condemn conduct of soldiers."

all right." We went to the train. The train was coming from the North. We got on. Went to where Corporal Gleaves was wounded and laying in a car. The Captain says, "That is what you done." I said, "No Sir." He called me—he said, "You D— S— of a B, we will hang you." He said, "If you don't tell me who done it, I will kill you." I said, "Captain, I don't know." He said, "You do know." I said, "I don't." He said, "Bring a rope." I told them I would make every effort to find him. I was punched two or three times. Got on the train, and as he said, we went to Elliott's and spoke about the gun. They made threats to hang Elliott and me both. His wife ran to E Street for help. Took me back into the yard, made a noose to hang me with. Drew a revolver on me and said: "You G-d d— s— of a b—, if you don't tell, I will hang you. Brought me to this place [North Enid], and then about 4 o'clock to Kingfisher.

Captain Frank D. Baldwin made an extensive investigation, and concluded that Mackay did arouse Sherer in the night, bring him out of his house and place him under guard, and take him to Mackay's camp at North Enid; that Mackay or some member of his party did cause to be procured a rope and did threaten to hang Sherer in the endeavor to force him to name the man or men who shot Corporal Gleaves, burned the bridges, and wrecked a train south of South Enid. Baldwin referred to destruction of property, and the wrecking of trains, and concluded:

> The fact that I could learn of no effort having been made by the people of this community to bring the perpetrators of these dastardly crimes to justice, but on the contrary have threatened, with dire vengeance, any person who would give information that might lead to their arrest, convinces me that a state of affairs existed that warranted martial law, and might force the conclusion upon any officer of the Army that he should act instantly to preserve and enforce the laws of the Government without awaiting the civil formalities leading to such action. In this case I am of the opinion that no further proceedings in law, either military or civil, could be sustained against Captain Mackay.

General Miles said that if Mackay was over zealous in the performance of duty, it was probably owing to his desire to prevent the destruction of life and property. Neither Baldwin nor Miles desired repetition of such performance, but let stand this exception to a rule. They would limit reprimand of Mackay to some general military advice.

Before the complaint against Mackay reached General Miles, a Senate committee had visited South Enid and Pond Creek, and Congress had ended the "Railroad War" in favor of the government towns. It has been explained that the memorial to Congress prepared at South Enid on April 12 and 13, 1894, requested that a committee be appointed to visit the city to see that there was no exaggeration in their statement about improvements. *Coming Events* noted that Senators Teller, Platt, and William N. Roach of North Dakota composed a quorum of the Select Committee on the Five Civilized Tribes, and that they were at Muskogee on business. On April 11, Wiggins wrote to Representative Joseph Wheeler, asking that authorization be secured for the senators to visit South Enid and Pond Creek.

He said: "We feel satisfied that if we could get this committee to visit our city and see personally the surroundings that we would not only be successful in getting our depot, but beyond question establish the enormity of the corrupt and vicious fight which the railroad company has made against an innocent people."

A committee from South Enid or Pond Creek traveled "a hundred miles" to see the senators, and asked them to investigate the railroad question. The senators declined to do so, because the "Railroad War" was not within the purview of their inquiry. Later they passed on the railroad through South Enid and Pond Creek.

Matters came to a climax in the Senate on August 1. Teller said that the question was whether the company would be required to establish depot facilities, or whether "we shall let them escape under cover of a county-seat fight." Concerning the claim that expensive cuts and fills would be necessary to establish a station at South Enid, he said:

> Standing upon the rear of the car as we approached that town, I am prepared to say, as one having had some experience in such matters, and some acquaintance with them, that there is not a word of truth in that statement. . . . When I saw the train going through the town on the verge of the evening at a rate that was dangerous to human life, and knew that every man who was destined for that village had to go to another station and then return over the same ground which he had traveled, because the railroad company had declined to build a station at that point or allow it to be built at the expense of others, I felt indignant myself, and I think any fair-minded man would feel indignant.

Platt was not impressed with the "three and four story brick buildings" at South Enid that Teller described. According to his observation, "the town would disappear over night" if the county seat were located elsewhere.

Palmer and Platt assessed responsibility. Palmer said that if the Senate had passed the bill in January without the amendment, there would have been "no bloodshed, no dynamite used, no disorder." He said the responsibility rested largely on those senators who failed "to do the right and proper thing on the right and proper occasion." Platt replied that if the House had accepted the amendment "a depot would have been built at South Enid," in May under the act. He added that it was the opposition of the people of South Enid and Pond Creek to an election for county seats, that had caused the House to refuse the amendment. He said that the people of South Enid asserted that "the whole community wants the county seat in our town," and then objected to the matter being settled by popular election. Senator John Martin of Kansas said that because the government established the townsite of South Enid, it was not obliged

to maintain it at all hazards and against all comers. Blackburn attributed the spirit of anarchy to the refusal of the railroad "to build station houses and depots every time that the caprice or whim of the Interior Department should change." Berry retorted that "no people ever had a greater provocation to violate the law."

Berry stated that the railroad company still refused to furnish depots for Pond Creek and South Enid. He said that there was no longer any probability that an agreement on the amendment could be reached in conference. Teller said that "if there was ever an occasion" for the Senate to recede from an amendment, this was one. Blackburn said that "if there ever was a time when the Senate ought not to recede from an amendment of such a nature as this one, it is now." He added:

> The Interior Department has won its fight so far as its controversy with the railroads is concerned. I repeat that the only issue pending between the two Houses is as to whether the qualified voters, the bona fide citizens of these two counties, shall in conformity with the law, as provided in this bill, have the right by popular vote to select and determine their respective county seats. You cannot bring anything else into this controversy.

A motion by Berry that the Senate recede from its amendment was accepted by a vote of 24 to 20. Thus the bill, in the form in which it passed the House, became law. News of the passage of the bill reached Enid about 8 p.m. A crowd of 2,000 soon assembled, and John C. Moore acted as chairman. The *Enid Daily Wave* said:

> O. J. Fleming rang the fire alarm calling the citizens together on the square, and the dispatches were read to them by ex-Mayor Moore. A bonfire was started on the public square and men and boys sallied forth to solicit donations of boxes and barrels. They met with liberal treatment and our open hearted merchants cheerfully responded and contributed sufficient material to keep the city brilliantly lighted during the evening.
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> The public meeting was an impromptu affair but it was a success nevertheless. The effect of each successive dispatch seemed to create a more joyful feeling in the hearts of all those who had assembled to hear the glad tidings. Long deferred hope maketh the heart sick and some were backward in believing that victory was ours. But when they noticed the effect the welcome tidings had upon leading citizens in whom they had the greatest confidence, all became pleased at the bright outlook for success. The crowd remained on the square thirty minutes. During this time they cheered all the friends that have helped us in Congress, and some fellow took off his muzzle long enough to propose three cheers for the man who "said nothing but sawed wood."

President Grover Cleveland signed the bill on August 8.[89] The *Wave* had no scruples about publishing a forged letter, if doubt of authenticity was evident on the face of the letter. There

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[89] Act of Aug. 8, 1894, 28 *Statutes*, 263.

appeared the following "special message" from the Executive Mansion in Washington, signed by "Your Uncle Grover":

> I approved of House Bill no. 3606 yesterday placing my signature thereon at 3:30 p.m. I beg leave to congratulate my fellow citizens of Enid and Pond Creek on their victory over an apparent outrage against the liberties of a free people, and only regret that Congress did not pass the bill at an earlier date. The *Wave* has kept me well posted on the progress of the struggle against the railroad; it has been my companion at breakfast for lo, these many days, and I have feasted its contents many many times, until my hot cakes became cold and my pickles tasted sweet. The *Wave* is certainly a great Democratic paper on hot shots for railroads and cold bunions for my deputy marshals.
>
> Please don't dun me for subscription, before January 1, as I am a little hard up. I would be pleased to accept an invitation to attend your celebration on September 15, but I am sorry to say I have bait cut to go fishing on that day and this administration never disappoints the fish.
>
> I handed your bill to Olney for constitutional inspection. He scratched his head and mumbled something about the constitution, when Hoke whispered in my ear that Olney had a pass on the Rock Island road and was a part of the rolling stock of all roads. I immediately signed the bill. I must close as I promised Frances to rock the baby awhile this afternoon. It is quite hot here.

At the evening assembly on August 1, S. F. Spencer, President of "O" County Bank, moved that it was the high sense of the meeting that the county be named "Berry" as a "feeble expression" of the great appreciation the people had for the senator from Arkansas. Prompt endorsement was given by the enthusiastic crowd who had cheers "for each and everything proposed, and groans for some people the citizens didn't like a little bit." On August 8, Moore and T. F. Smith addressed a letter to Berry relative to the county name. The *Enid Daily Wave* published the letter and began using the name, "Berry County."

The "Railroad War" had cost citizens of South Enid and Pond Creek "thousands of dollars and been a very serious tax" upon the pocketbooks of businessmen and others. The *Wave* said: "Now that the battle has terminated in a grand and glorious victory for Enid, 'Let us have peace.' We have fought the Rock Island to a finish in this war and we have won the battle." Citizens of Enid expressed eagerness to secure the pen with which Cleveland had signed the bill, and on August 11 Berry sent it to Moore.

Mayor Charles O. Wood called a special meeting of the City Council on the evening of August 14. Moore in "a brief yet very appropriate speech" presented the pen to the council. The *Wave* said that the "pen and penholder lying diagonally across the face of Senator Berry's letter, had been placed in a handsome frame, furnished by the Palace Drug Store Company. The frame is of solid oak and already has the appearance of antiquity, but,

as years roll by it will be cherished more and more by a thankful people, from generation to generation, as a little piece of steel that performed the last act in the settlement of one of the worst wars ever waged by the people against a railroad corporation with victory on the side of the people; on the side of right and on the side of justice."

The council passed a resolution appointing Wood a committee of one to draft a resolution accepting the pen. The resolution he drafted thanked Berry for "his gift and for his untiring efforts" in the passage of the congressional act, and thanked Moore for "his thoughtfulness in procuring this memento of freedom."[90]

The resolution concluded: "That said pen, framed, be placed in the custody of the city clerk to be hung in the City Hall." Capt. J. J. S. Hassler, receiver of the Enid land office, was at the council meeting and expressed the hope that the victors would be charitable and that all would join in a common effort "in making Enid one of the largest, most prosperous, and most peaceable cities in the West." The *Wave* predicted that the pen thus framed would "hang among the archives of the City of Enid forever." However, the pen, like the saw or saws that cut the trestle, has disappeared from Enid history. It was the most famous pen in the history of the city.

Most of the houses at North Enid were moved to the south town, which henceforth was known as Enid, a name applied to that vicinity since 1889. In the wake of victory, Enid on August 4 gave Pond Creek a reception which was "a gorgeous and grand success." During the first annual celebration at Enid on Saturday, September 15, the announcement was made from the grandstand that trains would stop in the city "for the next ten days at least." The northbound passenger train stopped that evening, according to the *Wave*. The newspaper recorded that "the southbound train on Sunday night stopped at E Street crossing and then when it reached the southern limits of the corporation it made another brief stop. They liked us so well on Sunday they made two stops." A platform was soon erected at Enid, and also a frame wooden depot 20 by 60 feet.[91]

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90 The *Commissioners Proceedings* lists the City Council as meeting on August 10 and 21, 1894, but records no meeting in the interim. An article, "A Toast on the Pen," appeared in the *Wave* on August 18. It gives an account of the meeting, and prints in full the resolution Wood purportedly drafted. See *Enid Morning News*, Nov. 29, and Dec. 1, 1963. In 1901 Moore's law office was burned in a fire that destroyed "the whole south side of the square." The pen may have been in the office at that time.

91 George Wilmoth, *Indian-Pioneer History*, vol. 11, p. 452.

The "Railroad War" was a peculiar event in American history. Senator John Sherman of Ohio observed that it was "a very poorly managed railroad" that would not stop its trains at towns of 2,000 or 3,000 population. People in North Enid claimed their address as Enid, yet their post office was North Enid, a name they disclaimed. The Secretary of the Interior was ignored in the selection of seven Indian allotments near prospective townsites. Charges that the railroad officials were interested in land speculation there, were common during the controversy, and have not been proved or forgotten. Years after the railroad had established stations, it was forced to bow to the "arbitrary demand of the Secretary of the Interior" to build towns at Pond Creek and South Enid. In the Territorial period many people believed that railroad and express companies, through their attorneys, were the rulers of Oklahoma Territory, influencing even the appointment of governors. This definitely was not the case in a clash between the Interior Department and the railroads.

The House of Representatives insisted that allotments be selected "by" the Cherokee allottees, and seven allotments were selected at the railroad towns. Later the House refused to accept a Senate amendment which would have given the railroad towns an opportunity to acquire the county seats. Congress and the Territorial legislature had concurrent jurisdiction on the question of requiring the railroad to afford service to the government towns. Friends of the congressional bill did not want to wait for action by the legislature. The defeat of the amendment to the bill avoided two county-seat fights. The Secretary of the Interior strangled speculative land interests at the railroad towns, and with them the advantages of priority of selection granted to allottees by congressional statute on cash payment. According to the pattern of townsite development, it may well be assumed that his action played into the hands of real estate interests at the government towns.[92] If he had not moved the county seats, he might have been accused of being aligned with Indian allottees and the railroad. Officials of the railroad noted his "extra careful consideration of white settlers who might desire to enter or become owners of lands adjacent to the towns."

People of South Enid claimed that the fight was against the railroad company for depot facilities, not against North Enid.[93] This was closer the truth than the statement by Senator Martin: "It is a conflict between rival townsites, and that tells the whole story." Stations established at the government towns might have been less expensive to the railroad company than the

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92 Homer S. Chambers, "Townsite Promotion in Early Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIX, No. 2 (June, 1941), pp. 162-165.

93 "A Contrast," *Enid Daily Wave,* Aug. 7, 1894.

cost of a congressional lobby, the destruction of freight, and the decrease in business resulting from the controversy. An examination of the evidence shows that the Rock Island had a stronger case than was recognized by the Interior Department, and the press, and people of South Enid. The will to resist on some issues gave the railroad moral strength and economic protection. But its manifest destiny was to carry passengers and freight. G. E. Lemon expressed local opinion when he said: "The railroad would rather have it said that the government had forced them to terms than that the people had, so they withdrew their opposition in the Senate."

In the naming of "O" County a bit of merit perished in the arena of practical politics. James H. Berry of Arkansas carried the brunt of the fight in the Senate for the "depot bill," and on its passage sent to South Enid the pen with which the President signed it. He was hailed as the "grandest Roman of all" because by "unanswerable arguments" he had "undoubtedly saved us from ruin." Yet, when his name was proposed for the new county, it could not be accepted even by the Democrats because it would alienate the vote of North Enid. Less than three months after the pen was placed in the archives of Enid, the county took the name of Garfield. Today citizens of North Enid are content with their urban name, unacceptable though it was to pioneers there.

It would be difficult to find another instance in which people already settled in a Territory were not given the right to determine the location of their own county seats. South Enid retained the county seat. Pond Creek, located on the south side of Grant County, was challenged almost from the time it received the county seat. In opening certain lands south of the Cherokee Outlet, Congress had required the Secretary of the Interior to locate county seats "near the center" of the counties, but unfortunately had omitted this common-sense provision in the act of March 3, 1893. On October 28 there was a meeting of citizens of Grant County at Medford for the purpose of taking such action as was necessary to secure the location of the county seat at that place.[94]

Twice in 1900 the matter of moving the county seat came before the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory, where sharp division occurred.[95] An appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States was dismissed for want of jurisdiction. The District Court of Grant County probed a contested election. It was de-

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[94] *Medford Monitor*, Dec. 1, 1893.

[95] Territory of Oklahoma ex rel. *v.* Neville et al., 10 Okla. 79 (1900); George W. Allen et al. *v.* Howard Reed et al., 10 Okla. 105 (1900); Territory of Oklahoma, 181 U.S. 615 (1901).

cided that no election could be held during the Territorial period, because Congress had located the county seat. Statehood signaled the opportunity to remove the county seat. An appeal to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma did not prevent Medford from winning it.[96] In his diary on May 27, 1908, Thomas J. Palmer wrote: "Grant County voted on the removal of the county seat. Medford won by 251 votes over both Pond Creek and Jefferson." Thus, the county seat was finally located near the center of the county where Moffitt, the "officious intermeddler," in 1893 requested Swineford to locate it.

During the "Railroad War" the *North Enid Weekly Tribune* reflected the interests of its community. A few weeks after the land opening it considered "Enid Station, the Prospective Capital and Metropolis and Railroad Center." The "Great Rock Island Route" had "the best trunk line railroad in the western country." The paper told of "a humming city," its three parks, lumber yards, board of trade, and of its "miraculous growth" in a well-selected location. The railroad company erected there a splendid new freight depot and promised a new passenger depot. Officials of the railroad were "men of sterling integrity and probity of character." Indeed the "company is helping us all it can consistently" in making extensive improvements. The paper vigorously advocated the removal of the county seat to North Enid, and stated that in the Cherokee Outlet "not a county seat in any of the counties has been legally located." When Congress passed the act of August 8, 1894, the paper challenged it as a "direct violation of the constitution of the United States." North Enid appeared on the railroad timetable as a stop until July 27, 1930.

The "Railroad War" was followed by the era of good feeling. The railroad ordinances were repealed on April 9, 1900, by Ordinance No. 198, published in the *Garfield County Democrat* ten days later. The Rock Island became the life line of Enid for travel, industrialization, and agriculture. Eventually it abandoned a portion of a branch line running through the area on the west border of Enid, and generously presented the city with the right of way there. Now that the city is spreading over the area, the donation by the railroad contributes to "an ideal drainage canal set up."[97] The postage meter slogan of the company is, "Equality

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[96] In all, the Supreme Court at Guthrie wrote 148 pages about the removal of the county seat from Pond Creek. Finally it said: "The purity of the ballot has been preserved, and a most exacting and trying period to the citizens of Grant County has passed without violence, without fraud, and in that law-abiding tranquility which is the triumph of popular government"; City of Pond Creek et al. *v.* Haskell, Governor, et al., 21 Okla. 711 (1908).

[97] Henry B. Bass, "Dear Everybody," Jan. 15, 1963, Oklahoma Historical Society.

of Treatment: The Magna Carta for Transportation—Rock Island Lines." The company placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society a microfilm copy of the construction history of the railroad in Oklahoma. One is reminded of the spontaneous exhuberation of joy expressed by the *Wave* in 1894 on learning of the passage of the "depot bill": "We are filled with those bright anticipations of the future glory and destiny that awaits our beloved city, Enid, the brightest jewel of Oklahoma."

APPENDIX A

The names of the signers and their occupations as stated in the Memorial of the citizens of South Enid, 1894, are as follows:

E. C. Abernethy, lumberman; S. H. Allen, druggist; C. W. Allred, farmer; R. D. Anderson, hardware; O. Armstrong; C. F. Arnett; E. B. Arthur, farmer; F. D. Barr, merchant; L. G. T. Beatty, grocer; J. W. Berry, laborer; John C. Bonum, merchant; T. H. Bottoile, homesteader; Peter Bowers; G. W. D. Boyd, merchant-tailor; S. H. Bradly, Justice of the Peace; S. D. Bradshaw, farmer; Palmer Brandow, secondhand dealer; R. E. Bray, Editor, *Events;* C. A. Bright, Cashier, Merchants Bank.

F. W. Buttrey, merchant; Wm. Callahan, real estate; E. Campfield, lawyer; T. G. Chambers, attorney; C. F. Champion, County Physician; Dill Clark, farmer; J. D. Clark, Police; James P. Clark, lawyer; W. Clute; F. H. Cochran, jeweler; Henry Colby, laborer; Joe Conatser, farmer; Ivan G. Conkling, lawyer; P. O. Connor, merchandise; W. M. Cook, farmer; L. Cooper, confectionary; J. C. Corberand, Agent and Acting Marshal; J. W. Corbitt, farmer.

W. D. Cornelius, County Clerk; E. E. Cotter, attorney at law; W. H. Crawford, lawyer; H. Crenshaw; J. W. Crenshaw, lumber dealer; M. G. Crocker, Councilman; W. O. Cromwell, lawyer; J. L. Cropper, hardware; T. F. Daly, Clerk; B. F. Davis, undertaker; E. C. Davis, horseman; B. I. Dawson, Councilman; B. J. Dawson, grocer; W. S. Denton, attorney; H. E. Diehl, hardware; W. H. Divers, farmer; Hugh Donly, County Commissioner; Walter Dotson, merchant; W. T. Dugan, banker; H. A. Ellamy, hotel proprietor; A. R. Elliot, contractor and builder; A. H. Elliston, farmer; A. J. Estes, farmer; F. H. Eutukus, real estate; J. B. Ferguson, attorney at law.

D. H. Fitzgerald, M.D.; Festus Foster, Minister, Congregational Church; E. M. Fuller, farmer; F. H. Fuller, farmer; E. S. Galcott, grocer; L. E. Germann, hackman; H. F. Gilbert, school teacher; D. A. Gillette, homesteader; J. T. Gist, stenographer; J. C. Gleason, farmer; George W. Graham, real estate; James U. Grant, Councilman; M. Gregg, farmer; G. S. Guffy; Albert Hammer, farmer; A. O. Haney, mechanic; William A. Hardlen, merchant; C. R. Harper, clerk; I. Harrison, drayman; A. B. Henthorn, auctioneer; C. B. Highbargin, druggist; E. W. Hill, civil engineer.

Ed Hockaday and Co., hardware; J. W. Hopley, capitalist; G. Howenstine, Councilman; J. A. Howenstine; C. S. Hubbard, grocery; Robert Hutchison, ice dealer; R. P. Hutchison, ice dealer; John Inman, barber; Donald T. Jackson, Ed-*Oklahoma Tribune;* S. L. Jackson, Ed-*Oklahoma Tribune;* William Jackson, farmer; Edgar E. Jennings, attorney at law; G. W. Johnson, Sheriff; A. J. Jones, lawyer; S. L. Keegan, hotel; W. H. H. Keeney, grocer; R. Kennedy, merchant; Johnny Kerr, merchant; Peyton King, civil engineer; S. H. King, laundry man; P. Knower, hard-

ware; H. Kuhlman, restaurant keeper; Edward M. Lacey, City Policeman; I. W. Lefons, merchant; C. E. Lobdell, attorney at law.

Logan and Kennedy, merchants; James A. Long; H. Lorie, merchant; H. D. Lykes, City Treasurer and Cashier, Bank of Enid; John Lyssitt, merchant; W. S. Marlow, merchant; S. R. Marshall, merchant; F. W. Martin, shoemaker and farmer; B. A. Mason, The Cherokee Pharmacy Co., manufact. Chemist; J. B. McFarland, City Health Officer; T. McGuire, clerk; H. B. McKenzie, M.D.; John McKone, capitalist; J. K. McLain, merchant; Meibergen and Godschalk, merchants; Charles Millard, farmer; Thomas P. Miller, grocer; W. A. Milligan, photographer; I. W. Mitchell, merchant; T. B. Montgomery, Deputy District Clerk; J. Moores, boarding; H. C. Morgan, attorney at law; F. H. Morrical, real estate; J. A. Morrison.

Ben F. Mott, merchant; E. J. Moulders; John Murphy, merchant; John B. Neville, Clerk, Board of Education; L. C. Newton, wholesale flour and feed; E. L. Nichols; S. H. Olwistie, drayman; K. Onegen, bakery; Richard Oxford, merchandise; James H. Parks, Justice of the Peace; J. R. Parks, Deputy County Clerk; S. D. Patrick, Manager, *Events;* W. O. Peery, Police Judge; F. J. Pemberton; J. T. Pemberton, clerk; P. T. Peters; Frank Purcell, lawyer; John Ramsel, merchant; D. Ratner, merchant; H. Ratner, merchant; S. Ratner, merchant; W. P. Ray, salesman; W. S. Renick, merchant; A. E. Renland, farmer; H. J. Roach, farmer; J. W. Roach, farmer; T. T. Robinson, plasterer; Rossmore Ross, grocer.

Frank Royce, Cashier, Stock Exchange Bank; F. V. Russell, attorney; Henry Ryan, farmer; James P. Scales, Register of Deeds; B. A. Schleeter, laborer; Harry Scott, hotel; E. T. Settle, farmer; S. B. Shaffer, farmer; D. Shaver, city transfer; L. J. Shaver; O. Shaver; J. D. Shaw, farmer; Jesse Shaw, merchandise; F. P. Shelly, merchant; J. H. Shelly, merchant; D. T. Shirley; W. T. Snyder, real estate agent.

H. M. Spalding, President, Enid Board of Trade; S. F. Spencer, "O" County Bank; John R. Stanly, attorney; F. P. Stearms, banker; F. E. Stuart, clerk—dry goods; B. T. Thompson, merchant; C. B. Thompson, real estate; C. B. Thompson and Sharrock; J. W. Thompson, Probate Judge; H. W. Ties, importer—horses; O. B. Ties, farmer; George A. Todd, merchant; S. Tullis, furniture; William A. Tyler, farmer; John F. Tyner, printer; A. Van Vanler, real estate; M. Vecuruy, grocer; Louis J. A. Vollers, Deputy Register of Deeds; Ward C. Walker, real estate; A. L. Wamock, real estate; J. Ward, Councilman; J. L. Watson, Supt., Public Schools.

W. T. Watson, President of the Council and Acting Mayor; H. E. Webb, general merchandise; C. C. Weith, lawyer; E. J. West, carpenter; J. C. West, carpenter; E. P. Whelan, merchant; Gus Whelen, merchant; L. D. Whitacre, clerk—dry goods; Vernon W. Whiting, lawyer; John L. Wiggins, City Clerk; William M. Williams, County Commissioner; A. Wilson, carpenter; C. H. Wilson, salesman; J. D. Withers; S. H. Withers, homesteader; Donly Wogan, hardware and implements; W. R. Wogan, hardware and implements; M. Wolberg; H. L. Wood, city transfer; R. E. Wood, county attorney.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Annual Tour In 1965
Oklahoma Historical Society

The Annual Tour of the Oklahoma Historical Society on June 22 and 23 commemorated the close of the American Civil War. It also marked the final activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission which has covered the Civil War period of four years in the Indian Territory—now Oklahoma—with a wide program that has included the commemoration on the centennial dates of outstanding battles on their historic sites in the Territory and the erection of monuments at some places under the auspices of the Historical Society, besides publication of articles and other materials on the War and sponsoring special tours of the region beginning in 1961.

Three buses left the Historical Building, Oklahoma City at 7:30 a.m. on Tuesday, June 22 with 115 tourists traveling south for a tour of Platt National Park at Sulphur, Murray County. This is the only National Park in Oklahoma, the land ceded by the Choctaw-Chickasaw Supplemental Agreement in 1902 to the United States for park purposes, the location within the limits of the old Chickasaw Nation. The guided tour through the courtesy of the directors of the U. S. National Park Service followed the roads in Platt Park, pointing out interesting geological features, historic sites and wonderful views of the hills, valleys and streams in the region that covers 848 acres with its 31 known springs—18 of high sulphur content, 4 of iron, 3 of bromide and 6 fresh water. After the noon luncheon at Sulphur's new Artesia Motel on the site of the old "Artesia Hotel" that flourished in the early days of this popular resort in Oklahoma, the buses rolled by way of Tishomingo, former capital of the Chickasaw Nation (1855 to 1907), present County Seat of Johnston County, to Fort Washita. The site of this noted historic U. S. military post (site selected 1841 by General Zachary Taylor, established and buildings begun in 1842) is on State Highway 199 in the northwestern corner of Bryan County, about 15 miles northwest of Durant.

The site of the Post was chosen on high ground, a healthful location on the east side of the Washita River overlooking a beautiful prairie ("Twelve Mile Prairie") to the east, with a military reserve of 10 square miles around the site. The buildings beginning with those erected in 1842 were generally of white limestone and walnut logs with an additional building of red brick (doubtless the hospital) constructed at different periods before the Civil War. The names of many notable U. S. Army

officers are connected with the history of the post during this time. Fort Washita was judged the best installation of the Army in the West, and was of strategic importance in protecting the Chickasaws, Choctaws and other civilized tribes of the Indian Territory from the warring elements among the Plains tribes and the advancing white frontiersmen in the Southwest including Texas. The outbreak of the Civil War and on to its close saw Fort Washita under the command of the Confederate Army. General Douglas H. Cooper, who served as an officer of the Indian Territory Confederate armed forces throughout the War sought the restoration of Fort Washita as a regular U. S. Army post at the end of the war but it was never reactivated. The U. S. War Department transferred the Fort Washita land and property to the Interior Department in 1870. During the allotment of lands in severalty in the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations (1902) the immediate acreage of Fort Washita with the ruins of its old buildings was allotted by one of the Colberts, a noted Chickasaw family in history.

Many interested in Oklahoma history, especially officials of the Oklahoma Historical Society for years hoped to see the restoration and marking of Fort Washita as one of the outstanding historic sites in Oklahoma. The beginning of such a restoration was made possible in 1962 by Mr. Ward S. Merrick, Sr., of Ardmore, who contributed funds to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the purchase of the acreage that included the site and ruins of the historic military post. The restoration of the grounds which has revealed and preserved many of the old ruins has been carried on through the continued interest and funds from Mr. Merrick for the past three years, supervision of the work having been under the direction of the Fort Washita Commission of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the actual work outlined and carried on under the guidance of Dr. James D. Morrison, Chairman of the Commission, who also is Dean of Southeastern State College at Durant and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The three buses of the Annual Tour rolled into the grounds of Fort Washita about 2:00 p.m., June 22, and the tourists were soon out and among the more than 2,500 visitors who thronged there for the dedication program at Fort Washita that afternoon, during which they learned more details of the history of this early day post as outlined in the foregoing paragraphs of this report. The printed program follows here:[1]

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[1] Members of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission were: Governor Henry Bellmon, Honorary Chairman; Henry B. Bass, Chairman; Fred Floyd, LeRoy H. Fischer, A. M. Gibson, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Homer L. Knight, Jordan B. Reaves, George H. Shirk and Wendell Howell, Secretary.

PROGRAM

Dedication of Fort Washita

Tuesday Afternoon
June 22, 1965

2:00 Concert .....77th Army Band, Fort Sill
2:30 Call to Order .....Mr. Lewis Coleman, Durant
Invocation (Choctaw) .....Rev. Simon Belvin, Boswell
The National Anthem and Hoisting of the colors .....77th Army Band Reserve Units, Durant
Jet Fly-Over .....Perrin Air Force Base, Texas
Introduction of Distinguished Guests .....Mr. Elmer Fraker Administrative Secretary Oklahoma Historical Society
Special Announcement .....National Park Service
3:00 Address—The Importance of Fort Washita in the History of Oklahoma .....Dr. LeRoy Fischer Oklahoma State University
3:30 Tender of the Fort and Grounds to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the People of Oklahoma ....Dr. James D. Morrison, Chairman Fort Washita Commission
Acceptance for the Society .....Hon. George H. Shirk, President Oklahoma Historical Society
Remarks .....Hon. Harry J. W. Belvin, Principal Chief, Choctaw Nation; Hon. Overton James, Gov., Chickasaw Nation
3:50 Artillery Salute .....Firing Battery, 2d Howitzer Battalion, 2d Artillery, Fort Sill
Dedication of Colbert Family Monument ..Miss Muriel H. Wright Oklahoma Historical Society
Response .....Mrs. Pauline Colbert Nix, Durant
Memorial Tribute to General Douglas H. Cooper .....Julia Jackson Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy
Memorial Tribute to C. B. Kingsberry .....Mary Quisenberry Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution
4:30 Benediction (Chickasaw) .....Rev. Jonas Imotichey Fillmore

The program had scarcely begun with the speakers and distinguished guests seated on the platform-truck under a huge oak tree when a thunder storm arose. The audience out in front of the speakers platform—the crowd including some 600 seated under another great oak—was soon skeltering across the grounds for shelter of any kind. Guests on the platform crawled under the big truck. The storm raged for over half an hour with rain in torrents, heavy gusts of wind, sharp lightning and cracking and roaring thunder. Before an hour ended, the rain stopped, the clouds broke and sunshine came through. A large part of the audience thoroughly soaked from the rain seemingly appeared from nowhere and was soon seated out in front of the speaker's platform! The jet fly-over from Perrin Air Force Base, Texas was seen high overhead beneath the fleeting mist of clouds that trailed the recent storm. The afternoon's program began again and was interesting to its close—even spectacular—, and thoroughly enjoyed by all in attendance.

The afternoon's program was highlighted by the "Special Announcement" and surprise through the National Park Service when Mr. Donald Spaulding, Superintendent of Platt National Park, presented a beautiful, framed certificate headed with the title, "United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C." superimposed over the Department's insignia in soft color and the slogan "That the past shall live." The certificate states: "Fort Washita, Oklahoma is hereby designated a Registered National Historic Landmark." And it is signed with the original signature of Secretary of the Interior Udall and that of Director Hartzog, National Park Service. It bears both the seal of the Department of the Interior and that of the National Park Service, with further certification for Oklahoma's noted Fort Washita in the statement: "Under the Provisions of the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935. This Site Possesses Exceptional Value in Commemorating and Illustrating the History of the United States of America."

The three buses rolled down the Highway to Texoma Lodge where the tourists were housed for the night. All attended the dinner that evening together with many outside visitors, during which the following program was presented under the auspices of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission:

PROGRAM

Lake Texoma Lodge
June 22, 1965—7 P.M.

Dinner

Toastmaster .....George H. Shirk
President of the Oklahoma Historical Society
Invocation .....Dr. Fred Floyd
Special Music .....77th Artillery Band
Introduction of
Special Guests .....George H. Shirk
The Final Report .....H. B. Bass
Chairman Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission
Address ....."War Beyond the River; Our Civil War and the Uncivil West".....E. B. Long

Music Finale

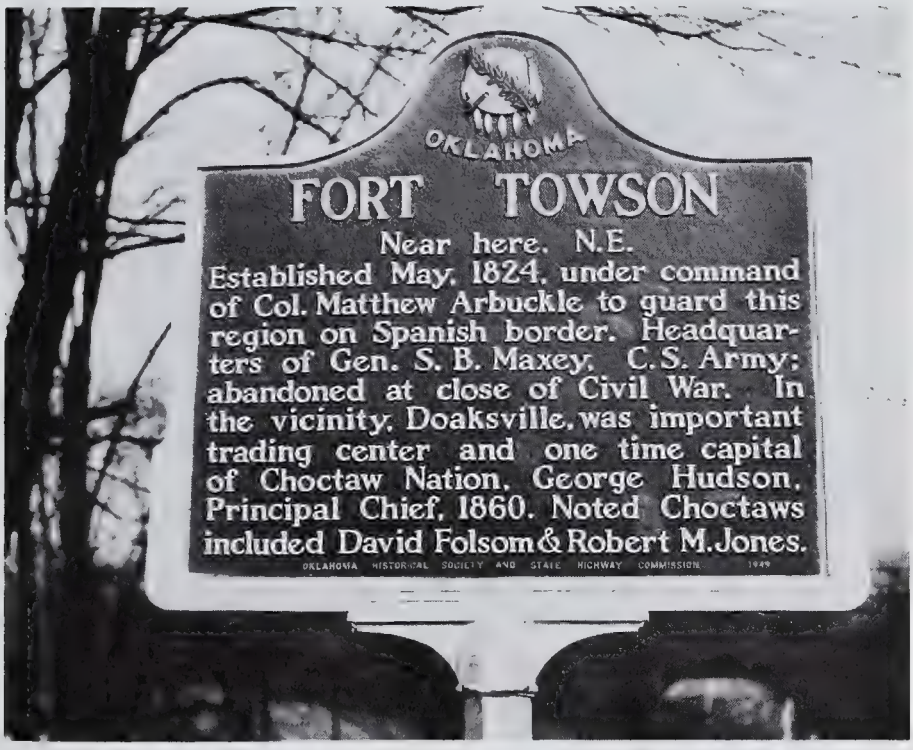
The program was a splendid "*Finale*" for the activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Commission during the four year period of the Centennial. The music by the 77th Artillery Band of Fort Sill added much to the sparkle and enjoyment of the evening. The address—"War Beyond the River"—was both scholarly and of deep interest to historians and students of the War in the Indian Territory—1861-1865. The speaker, E. B. Long is an authority on the Civil War. As an experienced editor and writer of many published works, he served as Director of Research (1955 —) for the multi-volume work *Centennial History of the Civil War* written by the noted historian Bruce Catton,

the volumes including his books *The Coming Fury* (1961) and *Terrible Swift Sword* (1963) published by Doubleday. Catton's companion volume in the *Centennial History* is now underway—*The War Beyond the River: the Trans-Mississippi in the Civil War.*

Wednesday, June 23, was the long to-be-remembered commemorated day of the end of the Civil War in present Oklahoma, the centennial of the surrender (June 23, 1865) of Brig. General Stand Watie who had officered the Confederate Indian forces in the territory throughout the War. This event took place at old Fort Towson, with Watie as the last general officer of the Confederate States Army to surrender. The history of Fort Towson and events of the Civil War were given in a great program produced under the direction of Miss Dorothy Orton, Chairman of the Fort Towson Commemoration Committee, highlighted by a pageant, "Surrender of Stand Watie," written by Mrs. George Caldwell, member of the Commemoration Committee. Miss Orton, a Captain in WAC World War II, is postmistress of the town of Fort Towson (Choctaw County) that bears the name of the old U. S. military post, the site of which is about a mile northeast of the town. Plans for this commemorative program have involved tremendous activity and work for more than two years, in which the people of the whole countryside around Fort Towson had joined in and donated wholeheartedly of their time, labor and money.

The Historical Society buses left Texoma Lodge and brought the tourists over the 80 mile drive to the site of old Fort Towson where the grounds were already swarming with upward of 3,000 visitors by 10:30 a.m. This was a great event in 1965 for Southeastern Oklahoma and of national significance in the Trans-Mississippi region. The Fort Towson commemoration had the recognition and support of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, the Oklahoma Historical Society and especially the historians of Southeastern State College, Dr. James D. Morrison, Dean, and Dr. Bernice Crockett, Head of Health Education, besides news media of Oklahoma and the surrounding states.

Wednesday was a beautiful summer day at Fort Towson. The program began at 10:30 a.m. with a concert by the 77th U. S. Army band from Fort Sill. The call to order was given by Miss Orton as Chairman of the Fort Towson Centennial Committee, followed by the invocation and the introduction of many descendants of those of this region who had fought in the Civil War, including Clarence Wilson and Walter B. Hall, both of the town of Fort Towson and members of the Commemoration Committee. Other distinguished guests in the throng of visitors were introduced by Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society. Brief remarks were given by Harry



Oklahoma Historical Marker "Fort Towson," erected in 1949 by Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Commission.

CONFEDERATE TROOPS: FORT TOWSON COMMEMORATION
"The Surrende of Brigadier General Stand Watie" Pageant,
Centennial of Close of Civil War

J. W. Belvin, present Principal Chief of the Choctaws, and by Overton James, present Governor of the Chickasaws in Oklahoma.

Then came the pageant presented on the wide, open sward of the long-ago esplanade of old Fort Towson, directed by the writer, Mrs. George Caldwell, and narrated by Lewis Coleman of KSEO Durant. The names of the historical characters and the names of all the participants in the some 20 scenes of the pageant are given in a booklet prepared under the auspices of the Fort Towson Commemoration Committee. The booklet is a production in itself, and will be counted a collectors' item in Southeastern Oklahoma history for 1965. The outside cover is titled *Final Event of the Civil War Centennial,* the contents including the events of the day's program and the pageant in full, a facsimile of the plat of Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation, 1843 (the original plat recently brought to light in the National Archives), and a summary of the history of Fort Towson and nearby old trading center of Doaksville. Added notes and sidelights on the Commemoration are very interesting, one note giving a brief history of the Firing Battery, 2nd Howitzer, Battalion, 2d Artillery, Fort Sill, that had a part in the program both at Fort Washita, June 22, and at Fort Towson, June 23, 1965:

> Appropriately enough, the salute battery from Fort Sill comes from one of the oldest artillery units with a traceable lineage—the Second Regiment. It first appeared on the rolls of the United States Army in 1780. The unit was present at Yorktown when the Revolutionary War came to a close, and guns of the 2nd fired the first shots at Gettysburg, and they boomed again on through 18 campaigns from 1861 to 1865. The 2nd Artillery served in Alaska, in the Indian Wars, in Cuba, in campaigns against the Mores in the Philippines, in World War I and World War II, was represented in the Korean campaign by the 2nd Rocket Battery, activated from the 2nd Field Artillery Battalion. In the summer of 1963 the 2nd participated in an exchange of artillery batteries with the British Army. They were the first American Unit to fire in England since World War II and the first American Unit to return to the D-Day Invasion site of Utah Beach. The Second is proud of its alumni, too. Numbered on the rolls currently are 53 former members and commanders of the unit since 1907 who have attained the rank of general. Research indicates that Battery B and the distinguished 77th Army Band are the First Federal Troops to serve at Fort Towson in a hundred years.

The final event of the Fort Towson program was the National Anthem by the 77th Army Band, Fort Sill, Owo Adam P. Shpakowsky, Director, and the hoisting of the colors (a 50 star U. S. flag flown recently over the National Capitol at Washington, and sent for the Fort Towson Commemoration by Congressman Carl Albert), followed by a 21 gun salute of the Firing Battery, 2d Howitzer Battalion, 2d Artillery, Fort Sill. After the smoke of the 20 rounds of the big guns cleared away, the final round (21) was fired by the 12 pounder cannon, owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society as its prized relic of the Civil

Pageant Impersonation: General Stand Watie
(Louis Smith, Fort Towson)

Impersonating historical character in the Pageant "Surrende of Brigadier General Stand Watie," a Pre-Civil War scene: *Major Ridge,* Watie's Uncle; *John Ridge,* cousin; *Elias Boudinct,* brother. (Parts taken by Wendell David, Norman Micco, Bobby Stone, all of Fort Towson.)

War period. The barrel of this cannon has been in the Society's possession for many years, and only recently was its identity revealed as a real Civil War gun that doubtless had part in many battles of the War. Mr. Jordon Reaves, of Oklahoma City, an authority on old firearms and the owner of a rare gun collection, became interested in this Civil War relic. He volunteered to restore the cannon, and after more than a year of work he had mounted it on an exact replica of its carriage with all its firing parts. So, the 21st round of the Firing Battery salute was by a real relic of the Civil War at the Fort Towson Commemoration on June 23, 1965.

The Historical Tour buses left the Fort Towson grounds, where scenes in the old post's history had been relived this day after months of work directed by the Commemoration Committee had cleared the deserted site of 100 years and revealed traces of some of the stone footings and piles of stone on the sites of buildings there more than a Century ago. A drive along the road at the edge of Lake Gary brought the tourists to the lakeside pavilion where luncheon was served. A stop was made on the way west again at the town of Fort Towson with its main street festive with banners and flags for the Commemoration Day. Time was taken for a visit to the building on Main Street where a large collection of historical relics in the region was on exhibit as a museum for the day, another project that had consumed much effort for months by members of the Commemoration Committee. The tour buses set out again in the mid-afternoon for the 195 mile drive to Oklahoma City, arriving around 6:00 p.m. at the Historical Building. All the tourists expressed their pleasure with the two-day trip, and were still marveling at the enthusiasm and all the history they had seen and heard at the long ago deserted sites of the old military posts, Fort Washita and Fort Towson in Southeastern Oklahoma.

(M.H.W.)

Early Day Notes on Old Fort Washita

The following interesting reminiscences of his life around Old Fort Washita sixty-five years ago are told in a letter from Mr. H. H. Harrill, Vice President and Manager, Local Federal Savings and Loan Association of Oklahoma City, to President George Shirk of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

July 14, 1965

Mr. George Shirk, President
Oklahoma Historical Society
Historical Building
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dear George:

It is only natural that people take a genuine interest in matters which they are familiar with and I want to commend you for having had a part in restoring "Old Fort Washita" and making this an Okla-

homa Historical Shrine to be recognized as having been a very important part of our early day history.

I moved to Durant, Indian Territory with my parents prior to the year 1900 and remained there until statehood in 1907, at which time we moved to a farm four miles north of Britton.

Since my parents separated about the turn of the century I had to, at a very early age, learn to know the value of a dollar and how to get it the hard way.

As a boy I had many odd jobs in Durant. Some of which were clearing timber land in the northwest part of the town and selling the cook stove wood by ricks for $1.25; driving a herd of cows to Will Durant's pasture south of town every day and returning them to cow lots at end of day for $1.00 per head per month; tending McNally's strawberry farm northwest of town; selling peach seeds to Durant Nursery for 50c per bushel in season, then being hired to plant them and after they came up, bud them to the kind of tree to be developed when large enough; peddling vegetables for a Methodist minister and picking cotton for a Mr. Marshall who owned considerable land in Bryan and Johnston counties.

Old Fort Washita was located Northwest of Durant and we had to cross what was known as "Twelve Mile Prairie" to get there. Mr. Marshall owned considerable land around the Fort, on which he raised cotton. In picking season we moved into little one room shanties until the picking season was over. That is how we earned our money to buy groceries to tide us over the winter months.

Dust storms were so severe in those days that we had to, at times follow barbed wire fences to find our way if caught out in them.

Since we did not have automobiles at that time, soon after the year 1900, we never strayed very far from our place of abode, the horse and buggy or team of horses or mules hitched to the wagon being modes of transportation or using our own two legs.

I visited the old Fort frequently up to about 1905. In those days it was badly decayed. Only the rock and cement walls of the building standing. The roof was gone. As a part of the Fort complex there had been a building with a semi basement with only the thick rock walls standing. This was being used as a hog pen. Officers quarters had been burned. Only the rock foundations and standing fireplaces and chimneys marked the location of quarters.

On Sundays the boys and girls of the community frequented the old Fort grounds and strolled down the moon light road winding down through the cemetery. Occasionally, some of the boys hid out in the cemetery with white sheets over them, and as the girls strolled down the road the boys with white sheets over them would begin to move around just to see the girls panic, as well as some boys.

In the year 1905 I picked up many iron cannon balls, about 4 inches in diameter, in the vicinity of the Fort and country side. I would line both sides of the dirt walk from the shanty to the front gate with these cannon balls, a distance of about 25 feet. Then, too, another hobby on weekends was picking up flint rock, Indian arrow heads around the old Fort premises. They were very plentiful. Also sharpnel lead bullets were plentiful. We used these to make sinkers for fishing lines. Then another interesting spot to young people in those days was a flat sand stone rock protruding out from the bank of a ravine not far from the

Fort. The story about the rock was that an Indian girl was murdered on the rock and if anyone stood on the rock they would faint.

Then I recall another incident in the cotton field North of the Fort. On the morning of November 5, 1905 the sun was shining bright when we got in the field that morning to start picking. By noon it had clouded over and snow flurries were falling. That date remained fixed in my mind because it was such a sudden change. (And this brings to mind Will Rogers quotation "If you don't like our weather, wait a minute.")

Last year our Oklahoma City Rotary Club had a stag fishing outing at Lake Texoma Lodge. Since I had not been to the old Fort since prior to 1907 I made it a point to go down by Tishomingo and on to visit the Fort on the way down. Caretakers were busy clearing the grounds and some restoration was underway at that time. Since it was drizzling rain and it being lunch time I went in to sign the guest register. I made the acquaintance of one of the caretakers and to my surprise his wife was the sister of one of the employees of Local Federal.

These early day happenings are very fond recollections and I am sure there must be more oldtimers who feel as I do because we recall the old Fort in its primitive state. Certainly there must be a history of pain and suffering in the defense of this old Fort if only the history had been preserved. This stands as a symbol of hardships endured by former generations that the present generation may enjoy a life of ease.

George, the foregoing may, or may not be, of interest to you but I wanted you to know I did know something about the Fort in early days. Will Durant, to whose pasture I drove cows had two sons, Spot and Gordon. I think those boys live here in the city now. Then I believe Will Durant later became a political figure around our state capitol.

Sincerely
/signed/ H. H. Harrill

The Quapaw Pow Wow in Ottawa County

Pow wows are held in many Indian communities throughout the summertime in Oklahoma. The term is used mostly in the United States having originated from the Algonquian linguistic family of North American Indians that included the Massachuset, Narraganset and Housatonic that once lived in New England. The Quapaw Pow Wow in Ottawa County has special significance, for the Quapaw is a well known tribe of the Siouan linguistic family discovered along the Arkansas River in the Mississippi Valley, a friendly people who gave asylum on their land reserve in Oklahoma nearly 100 years ago to a last remnant of the Housatonic who were known in their late history as the Stockbridge in Massachusetts.[1] So, the term "pow wow" has

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[1] *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright (Oklahoma University Press, Norman, 1951). The term "pow wow" is defined as one used mostly in the United States having originally referred to a friendly gathering among the Indians (Massachuset, etc.) given over to a noisy frolic in dances and singing, the meeting sometimes held to bring hoped for success to a venture through the aid of divination by a conjuror or medicine keeper.—Ed.

come half way across the continent and has a special place as today's name for a traditional festivity among the Quapaw.

Velma Nieberding, a contributor to *The Chronicles* and well known for her acquaintance with Indian history in Ottawa County has written on the Quapaw Pow Wow in her column "Moccasin Telegraph" of *The Miami, Okla. News Record,* July 4, 1965 (p 8):

Especially for and About Indians

If you haven't visited the Quapaw Pow-Wow which closes tonight at Beaver Springs, you are missing one of Ottawa County's oldest and most interesting events. Perhaps no other tribe in history has the record of being as consistently friendly to non-Indians as does the Quapaw.

In the early days of treaty-making it was a habit of Quapaw Chiefs to remind the President of the United States that they had "kept the path white" and that never had they gone to war against the white man.

During the terrible years of exile when it was a feat of heroic courage to even live on the reservation, ringed by hungry land grabbers who sought to drive them off. During the Civil War when children cried hungry in the night and women walked barefoot to Kansas seeking sanctuary when their lands were overrun by soldiers and bushwhackers, it was said that more Quapaw men in relation to tribal population had enlisted in the Union Army than any other tribe. During the hard years of Reconstruction when the government both thought and hoped that the Quapaws were destined to disappear, they held on.

When fortune finally smilled on them like a gift from God, [riches from zinc and lead mines on Quapaw lands] they considered this another reason to share with the white man. Many people of this area still remember the lavish entertainment of the pow-wow committees during the golden years.

It has changed somewhat now, because it has become such a tremendous tourist attraction. Yet the pow-wow is all the Quapaws really have left of the ancient culture which (and this was true of most tribes) was not to "get" but "share."

If sometimes it seems too commercialized, remember the Indian must now compete in this commercialized world. The costumes have grown more expensive and more ornate; the simple tent and campfire of earlier years is a modern "camper" with running water, refrigerator, and gasoline stove.

Yet the pow-wow remains both a big family and a tribal reunion with an open-handed welcome to all who come to share its festivities. Particularly encouraging from the standpoint of keeping the culture alive is that children, from babies to teen-agers, are included in the programs and the interest that parents take in teaching the old rituals.

So when you hear the soft, Indian voice of Charles Dawes coming from the loud speaker announcing the different events, listen to the big drum; to the singers; watch the dancers. This is not anything new. It is rooted so deeply in Indian culture that none know when it began, and despite all the modern trapping is deeply significant.

First Boy Scout Troops in America Organized at Pawhuska, Okla.

A report on the organization of the first Boy Scout troops in America at Pawhuska in 1909, has been brought to light and copied by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, by request for a publication note in *The Chronicles.* This report is in "Indian-Pioneer History," Grant Foreman Collection, Vol. 25, pp. 89-92, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City:

Interview with Mrs. W. B. Jackson of Tulsa,
in Notes by Effie S. Jackson, WPA Field Worker
1937

Mrs. W. B. Frederick, 119 North Wheeling Avenue, asked me to stop when I was in the neighborhood to see one of her treasured possessions. It is a letter which Cannon J. F. Mitchell-D. D., Executive Secretary of the Bishop Seabury Memorial, New York City, had written to her brother, the late W. E. McGuire of Pawhuska. It was written relative to the organization of the first Boy Scout troops in America.

As Mrs. Frederick tells the story from her own experience, the Rev. John Mitchell of the Episcopal Church was sent by his church from England to America. He reported to his Bishop in New York, who sent him to his first church in America, Pawhuska, Oklahoma, in 1909. Pawhuska was then a little town of 1500, an Indian reservation.

Rev. Mitchell had become acquainted with the scout movement in England through association with Sir Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scouts. The movement was less than a year old when Mitchell was sent to America. So Mitchell, in 1909, began organizing a Boy Scout troop. There were just enough boys in the town to fill three patrols; they called themselves the Quail, Wolf, and Beaver.

Mitchell had brought scout literature and manuals from England and the troop followed the English form at first. Later their forms were changed to fit the United States. In the beginning, Mrs. Frederick remembers, they used to sing "God Save the King"—until they could have it changed to our own anthem. Even the uniforms were English with their English hats turned up on one side. Mrs. Frederick says that Mrs. W. E. McGuire of Pawhuska has a large framed picture of the troops taken in 1909.

W. E. McGuire, Mrs. Frederick's brother, who was then postmaster, was the assistant scout-master and helped organized the troop. About six months after his arrival in Pawhuska, Mitchell was transferred to another church and McGuire assumed charge of the scouts. McGuire was active in his work with the troop as scoutmaster for fourteen years. A paid scout executive was then placed in charge of the troop but McGuire continued as a scout executive, and held his scout commission until his death, June 18, 1936.

About a year after the Pawhuska troop started, the Boy Scouts of America were organized and the troop affiliated with the national organization. Many of the boys of the first troop are still in Pawhuska and among the leading citizens, holding public office and taking active

part in civic work. The following were in the first scout troop organized in Oklahoma and said to be the first in the United States: Douglas Foote, Jack Hutchings, John L. Johnston, Robert McGuire, Lee Copeland, Clifford Ferguson, Thomas Leahy, Walter Johnson, Tim Leahy, Joe McGuire, Clyde Wilson, Dick Millard, Spider Hinkle, Climmer Curtis, Roland Blane, Alex Tinker, Jack Coffy, Roger Leahy and Roland McGuire.

The following letter from Cannon J. F. Mitchell, D. D.—Executive Secretary of the Bishop Seabury Memorial, New York City, is self-explanatory. The original of this letter is framed and in the possession of Mrs. W. B. Frederick, 119 North Wheeling, Tulsa:

July 31, 1931

Mr. W. E. McGuire & Son
Pawhuska, Oklahoma
My dear Friend:

Thanks so very much for your kind and gracious letter; which I appreciate very much indeed. Pawhuska is very dear to me and very near my heart.

I may say that the happiest days of my sacred ministry were spent in Pawhuska.

In regard to the Boy Scouts, we were the first Scout organization in this country. I think it was in May, 1909, we organized and met in the Episcopal Church near the depot, which was their headquarters. When Bishop Brook of blessed memory visited Pawhuska in 1909, he inspected the troop and congratulated them on their training and behavior, which was then new in the state of Oklahoma. I would be pleased to hear from the old scouts at any time. Please remember me most kindly to Mrs. W. E. McGuire and your family.

With kindest thoughts and good wishes, I remain,
Most sincerely yours,
/signed/ John F. Mitchell

P. S. I would be pleased to see the photo and some of the press cuttings and I think the present Bishop of Oklahoma would be pleased to see the photo and press cuttings.
/signed/ J. F. M.

Mrs. W. B. Frederick says that Dean Baden-Powell of England wrote a letter to her brother, the late W. E. McGuire, praising him for his assistance in helping to organize the first Boy Scout troop in the United States. Mrs. Frederick believes this letter is now in the possession of a Mr. McCoy, a friend of the late Mr. McGuire.

A New Day for the Oklahoma Historical Society*

When we speak of the founding fathers of an organization, we have in mind those who banded themselves together for a purpose. All historical societies have a common purpose and that is to tell a true story

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*Report given by Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, April 29, 1965.

of some event or events .When the members of the Oklahoma Territorial Press Association, in their annual meeting at Kingfisher on May 27, 1893, founded the Oklahoma Historical Society, they set in motion the machinery for developing a procedure which had as its first, last and sole purpose the telling of the Oklahoma story.

These men were newspaper men. They did not presume to be specialists in the field of history. Few of them could have defined a curator, an archivist, or an anthropologist. But every last one of them knew the importance of seeing to it that the story of Oklahoma should be preserved and retold in a manner so that all who ran might read.

The historical details of the beginnings of the Oklahoma Historical Society may differ in manifold ways from how other historical societies started, but in general they all began from the same urge and purpose. Each and every historical society in the land has had a period of insignificance, neglect, blind grouping, revival, and renewal. These periods were representative of public interest and attention.

In its beginnings the Oklahoma Historical Society was an unofficial body dedicated to preserving the artifacts and evidences of Oklahoma life. Within a few years, however, the Territory of Oklahoma adopted this babe in swaddling clothes and took over its care and rearing. When Oklahoma became a state, the Oklahoma Historical Society became a state institution.

Although professionalism in historical society work was growing up in other areas of the United States, such had little influence on the Oklahoma Historical Society. The reasons for this are doubtless many. In fact, the people of Oklahoma were too busy building a state to pay much attention to keeping straight the record of its building. This was shown by the insignificant appropriations made every biennium to the Oklahoma Historical Society. With insufficient funds for a professional operation, the alternative was a sort of "do-it-yourself" type of procedure.

Looking back over those lean years in the Oklahoma Historical Society, one may at first be inclined to become critical of the accomplishments, but when it is realized how slender were the resources available to those trying to carry on the work. the attainments were striking and significant. Through those years there were only a few poorly paid staff members, and a few voluntary Board members who carried forward the activities of the organization.

When the years of the depression came, the Historical Society was sorely distressed. When the depression years receded and other state institutions began to get restored appropriations, for some reason the Oklahoma Historical Society's appropriations remained at the depression level.

There were those connected with the Oklahoma Historical Society who recognized the inadequacies of the work being done by the organization. It was realized that the whole historical society movement in the United States was rolling along with an ever-increasing momentum, with the Oklahoma society practically standing still. One of the things that aroused those guiding the destiny of the Oklahoma Historical Society was the great advance being made in historical society work in neighboring states.

The facing-up to the facts of life caused the Oklahoma Historical Society to see a true picture of itself as a rather insignificant and

timid organization. This was not the type of picture progressive historical society members wanted. Within a brief span of years the idea of doing it yourself, and amateur organization, were cast aside and insofar as finances would permit, a progressive professional attitude was taken. The result has been a sort of a metamorphosis of the Historical Society. Nothing dramatic and startling has been done, but for the past several years an honest survey of the situation reveals that the Oklahoma Historical Society is steadily and progressively moving ahead.

The Board and the administration have persuaded the Legislature that the Historical Society has a great mission to fulfill and if afforded the resources it would get the job done.

The first effort of putting new life into the Historical Society was a face-lifting in the museum of the Society. This was made possible by the hiring of young and vigorous curators, who are proceeding to take the marvelously collected artifacts of previous years and display them in such a manner as to tell the story of Oklahoma in a three-dimensional way. There are academicians who would question the validity or necessity of a historical society museum. But those who believe in historical societies realize the museums of such institutions are the departments that interest the greatest number of people.

At the Oklahoma Historical Society museum, approximately 150,000 people appear each year. Those who view the exhibits include little children, school boys and girls, college students, and the general Oklahoma public—all wanting to know more about themselves. Then there are visitors from far-away places wanting to learn of what makes Oklahoma "tick."

It is true that one can learn history from books, from pictures, and in a number of other ways. But there is no more effective method of teaching history than by affording the learner the opportunity of seeing the actual materials with which the people of a given time worked. This is the purpose of the Oklahoma Historical Society museum: to tell the story of Oklahoma in a three dimensional way.

Work is continuing, in this department, progress is being made, and there will never be an end so long as there is an Oklahoma.

The second department of the Oklahoma Historical Society to begin the game of catch-up with its neighbors and to render the service it should was the library and archives. Like in the museum, the early operators of the Oklahoma Historical Society had done a magnificent job of collecting books and manuscripts. To make these effective for researchers and students, the most modern of library techniques have been installed. This has included vigorous and skillful librarians, careful addition of books and manuscripts, an expansion and refurbishing of the library facilities, and a number of other minute and intricate improvements.

A great step was made in the improvement of publications of the Society when a full-time editor was provided for *The Chronicles*. This has led to better arrangement of materials and the securing of a variety of pertinent articles for publication. Plans for additional bulletins and pamphlets are being developed.

In the newspaper department a great upsurge came when it was decided to start a program of microfilming the newspapers that had been so religiously collected from the very beginning of the Oklahoma

Historical Society. This involved the establishment of an entirely new department within the Society. It required considerable material and the hiring and training of additional employees. Nevertheless, this has been integrated into the program of the Historical Society and is moving toward the day when all newspapers of the Oklahoma Historical Society will be preserved on microfilm. This is not only rendering a great service to the researchers but also to the newspaper men of Oklahoma.

No larger forward step was taken by the Oklahoma Historical Society within recent years than that in historic sites work. It was only a few years ago that a proposal was made to create a historic sites department of state government. Officials of the Oklahoma Historical Society persuaded the Legislature to place that activity in the hands of the Historical Society. Many looked askance at the Society in this matter and expressed doubt that the Society was the proper organization for handling this big and vital program. Nevertheless, the Legislature did write a measure which permitted the Historical Society to move forward in the field of acquiring and developing historic sites.

That the confidence of the Legislature was not misplaced is shown by the great amount of work in historic sites that is being done throughout the state under the supervision of the Society. Fort Washita is being restored at the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the funds for its purchase and restoration having been furnished from private sources; Cowboy Hill has been secured near Ponca City and is cared for by the Society; property at Fort Gibson owned by the Society has been refurbished and placed in an improved condition; the Confederate cemetery at Atoka and the cemetery at Boggy Depot are being given first-rate care by the Society; the oldest house in Oklahoma is being restored; the only authentic sod house in the world has been purchased and a protection afforded.

In addition to this array of historic sites accomplishments has been added the monolith marker program. Several outstanding sites in Oklahoma have been marked by the Historical Society using this type of memorial. Such markers have been established at Wyandotte, Fort Cobb, and Grandfield. A considerable number of others are projected. Numerous on-site markers have also been placed throughout the state and the roadside marker program has been continued.

The apparent good work of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the development of its historic sites program has caught the attention of others and now a movement is on foot to place a considerable number of other historic sites in the hands of the Historical Society. Do not be surprised if the present Legislature places the Pioneer Woman Museum at Ponca City, Murrell Home at Tahlequah, Black Kettle Museum at Cheyenne, and all of the Fort Gibson properties under the management and control of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The story of Oklahoma could not be adequately told without great emphasis being placed on the development of the oil industry in this state. Mountains of books and piles of archival material exist relative to this industry's beginning and growth in Oklahoma. Despite the fact that Oklahoma, at World War I time, was the greatest oil-producing area in the world, and that it has been the very seed bed of the oil industry in the mid-continent area, no museum nor archival facility exists in this region with special emphasis on the oil industry.

For several years the idea of an oil museum and archival facility lay dormant in the Oklahoma Historical Society mind. Last December,

however, the idea that America needed an outstanding museum for an outstanding industry, to be located in the state where it had its greatest development, germinated and began to grow. Under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society a group of Oklahoma's leading oil men met and formulated plans for an oil museum and display which would tell the story of the development of the oil industry in Oklahoma.

As a first step, these oil men proposed that the no-longer producing Oklahoma Historical Society owned oil well, on the Society's grounds, be restored to its condition while being drilled. With typical oil men's "get it done now" attitude and action, this part of the project is well on its way to completion. This has been done without cost to the state of Oklahoma or to the Oklahoma Historical Society. It is altogether possible these Oklahoma oil men will see to it that the finest oil museum in the world is constructed on the Oklahoma Historical Society's grounds. A splendid beginning has already been had.

Yes, it can truly be said that the Oklahoma Historical Society is taking on a new look. It is only taking on this new look because the people of Oklahoma expect it and require it. Those of us who serve it and love it are glad to be a part of the Oklahoma Historical Society's new day. The Oklahoma story may sometimes be dull, sometimes dreary, other times happy and bold: Be that as it may, it is a proud story and we hope to tell it well.

—Elmer L. Fraker

BOOK REVIEWS

No Turning Back. By Polingaysi Qoyawwayama (Elizabeth Q. White) as told to Vada F. Carson. (The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1964. Pp. 180, illus. $5.00.)

Polingasay is the Hopi name of Elizabeth White, retired Indian Service school teacher, holder of the Department of the Interior's Award of Merit, potter, artist, poet, and innkeeper. Mrs. White's roof, at New Oraibi, Arizona, has sheltered travelers and visitors to the Hopi country for the last twenty-five years. Anthropologists, writers, musicians, painters, sculptors and travelers for recreation have sat at Mrs. White's long tables, eaten meals which were Hopi or non-Hopi or a combination of both, and made friends with one another, in the tradition of ship-board experiences, or for life.

This book is an autobiography, although it is told in the third person by Vada Carson. It is also an adventure and a mystery story. The adventure is the passage from one way of life to another; the mystery is the source of the spark which determined Polingaysay's movement from the Hopi world to that of the non-Hopi.

For the Hopi are the most indomitably conservative group of people in the world. Their word for all that is good is *Hopi,* Peace. Their word for all that is bad is *ka-Hopi,* not Hopi. Other Hopis have called Polingaysay ka-Hopi from the time when, a small child, she stole away from home to go to school. She is the Hopi epitome of everything that the Hopi ideal is not. And yet she is admired by other Hopis, and their children are urged to imitate her. She has never followed the Hopi pattern of conformity, of living on a dead-level norm with everyone else in the community. In a time and place where it was physically dangerous to attract attention to oneself, Polingaysay attracted it, and took the consequences.

It is interesting to contrast *No Turning Back* with *Book of the Hopi,* which was written by Mrs. White's nephew, Oswald Fredericks, with Frank Waters, and was reviewed by this writer in the Autumn, 1964, issue of *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Messrs. Fredericks and Waters deliberately set out to write a Hopi Bible, recording creation and origin myths, and the many traditions of Hopi history, and relating them all to murals painted on the walls of prehistoric ceremonial rooms. This *is* a turning back; a revival of old ways and beliefs.

All the same, it would not have been possible for *Book of the Hopi* to have been written if Polingaysay, in her generation,

had not deliberately stepped out of the Hopi path of life. Her doing so gave her nephew the necessary distance from Hopi culture to reappraise it, and to find in it the traditions and beliefs that might be of value to other people.

The Hopi relationship between mother's sister and sister's son is strong and deep. The aunt is a second mother, and the care of nieces and nephews is her responsibility, not only if their mother dies, but while the mother is living. In Hopi patterns, as in ours, it is inevitable that these two people should have interacted upon and influenced one another. That the interaction is negative as well as positive cannot be denied. In writing *Book of the Hopi,* Oswald Fredericks took a long step away from Hopi life. The usual Hopi man is so steeped in his traditions that he cannot and will not talk about them to outsiders.

Polingaysay gave her nephew the example of a person who went away—and who came back. Her roots are deeply Hopi, and she can never imagine herself as *living* anywhere else than on the mesas soaring above the high desert. This is her world, and she is part of it. Go away and come back, take the best of Hopi to others and bring the best of the outside to the Hopis—that is Elizabeth White's dream.

To implement it, she has started a scholarship fund for Hopi young people, with money raised by her own efforts and those of other Hopis. The women grind corn and bake bread; work at pottery and basketry, while the men carve kachina dolls or paint pictures or work in silver to contribute to the fund. Whatever the Hopis pay in must be the result of honest effort. It cannot come, says Polingaysay, from windfalls or from other accidental sources.

Perhaps *No Turning Back* is best summed up in its subtitle: "A true account of a Hopi Indian girl's struggle to bridge the gap between the world of her people and the World of the white man." This is a remarkable book. Read it.

—Alice Marriott

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Historical Atlas of Oklahoma. By John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press. 70 maps. $3.95)

Occasionally, in the history of producing books about a state, a work is published that makes a major contribution to the study of that state. Alas, such publishing events are few and far between. However, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* is, happily such a work. It appears destined to become a standard reference work in Oklahoma history.

By definition, a historical atlas is a collection of maps in a single volume with the collection having historial significance. This work meets that criterion and meets it with excellence. In Greek mythology, Atlas was a divinity who upheld the pillars of the world. Later usage of the word designated a bearer of great burden. *This* atlas bears its burden well.

The collection, written and compiled by John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, contains 70 maps with accompanying text. Each map and its narrative face each other for easy reading. The writer of the texts obviously believes historical writing need not be dull or obtuse. The texts are erudite and lively—a rare combination in historical writing.

The first five maps are general background maps giving state location, landforms, rainfall and rivers and lakes of Oklahoma. Then, for the next sixty maps or so, the reader is led through some of the most colorful and dramatic local history in the United States. The information included in these maps range from the "did-you-know-quiz" variety to rarely available historical geographical information much needed in the study of Oklahoma history.

The emphasis, of course, is on the Indian and his role in the history of the state. Approximately one-third of the maps is devoted to this subject. Not only are the Five Civilized Tribes covered, but space on the maps and in the texts is given to some of the lesser known tribes in Oklahoma history.

The collection is completed with maps showing such diverse items as "Oklahoma Colleges and Universities: Active"; Oklahoma Colleges and Universities: Inactive"; Congressional Districts"; "Oklahoma County, 1961," etc.

When a reader is given so much excellent information in a work, he is led to wish for more. For instance, a map showing vegetation distribution was not included. It seems that it would have been appropriate to have included one. Another minor criticism concerns the series of maps showing important places and political divisions of the Five Civilized Nations. On all these maps except one, an Oklahoma map was inserted, placing the territory of the Nations under discussion in proper perspective within the state. That this one was left out seems strange. Still another criticism, not of just this atlas but of all atlases, is that not enough distinctive markings to show routes, trails, etc., have yet been invented for easy reading; and any map that contains several routes or trails always places a strain upon the reader to comprehend.

But these are minor criticisms of a major work. *The Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* is accurate, concise, meaningful and the

information contained in it is readily accessible. Little more needs to be said about a reference work in history.

The authors of this important work are two fine Oklahoma scholars. Morris is a geologist at the University of Oklahoma and McReynolds is a well known Oklahoma historian.

It might well be hoped by Oklahoma history students, teachers, and scholars; librarians in our schools and universities; and by others interested in Oklahoma history, that this work, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma,* will be only the first of many such reference works in the field of Oklahoma history to be published. For instance, Dale and Rader's *Readings in Oklahoma History,* printed in 1930 and now out of print, is the only really fine collection of documents of Oklahoma history. It needs to be brought up to date. It should be revised and up-dated so as to be to Oklahoma history as *Documents of American History* is to the study of American history. Also, where may one find the collected inaugural addresses of the Oklahoma governors? These certainly should be compiled, edited and made available for use. Nevertheless, a good beginning in Oklahoma reference books has been made with the publication of this *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma.*

—Jerome D. Simpson

Library, University of New Mexico
Albuquerque

A Purgatory Made of a Paradise: A Tragedy Depicting Early-day Scenes in Oklahoma (After the Land Opening of 1889); A Three-Act Play by Ira Nathan Terrill, Edited by Students in "Oklahoma History 162", Oklahoma State University. (Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, 1965. Pp. iv+ 101. Illustrations, map, notes. $3.00).

Terrill's work, designated by Dr. Paul T. Nolan as "the first play printed in Oklahoma," is unique literature retrieved from the limbo of the past. It was published in 1907, but for years the only known copy was in the Harrison Collection in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. It is the only play written by a participant in the Run of 1889.

The play concerns the founding of Oklahoma A. and M. College, the greatest tragedy that ever occurred on the government acre in Guthrie, the supreme courts of Kansas and Oklahoma Territory, and the territorial prison system.

Terrill was with the Boomers who established the first settlement at Stillwater, December, 1884. In 1889 he took a homestead at Forest City, west of Perkins. He was a prominent member of the first Territorial Legislature. He was accused of soonering when in 1891 he applied to prove up at the Guthrie

land office, and in a gun fight, killed the challenger, George M. Embrey. No other gun fight in Oklahoma history, except that by William L. Couch and John C. Adams has been so widely discussed.

This book is the first careful study made of the life of Terrill, and of his literary works, including the play. A scholarly and well-documented introduction to the play is supplied by the editors. This enables the reader to understand the conditions under which homesteads were entered, how "lowns and lawyers" preyed on innocent settlers, and how organized groups were able to "steal by law." The role of sooners, the perjury of professional witnesses, and the use of blackmail was written in prose by officials like John H. Burford of the Oklahoma City land office. It was left to Terrill to narrate clearly the same story in poetic form in the play. According to senior citizens of Payne and Logan counties, the play has a historical basis, both in personalities and places.

In telling of the gun fight on the government acre, Terrill is a thinly veiled "Knight" who kills a "Sooner" who tried to "bleed" him of $200.00 to permit him to prove up on land.

Terrill was a Populist. In the Legislature he opposed Guthrie in its effort to secure the capital permanently. And he had sponsored the Occupying Claimants Act which enabled a homestead settler to receive compensation for improvements made on land, when by an honest mistake of law or fact he was adjudged not to be entitled to the land. Terrill believed that these things counted against him, in an effort to secure a fair trial. He served some years in the penitentiary at Lansing, Kansas, but was pardoned in 1906. He lectured on prison conditions at Lansing, and had some influence on expediting the establishment of the penitentiary at McAlester in 1909.

Terrill's play has no rival in contemporary literature. Publication of it was sponsored by the Payne County Historical Society, and the Early Day Settlers of Guthrie, Inc.

—Frank Mater

Guthrie, Oklahoma

Indian Annie: Kiowa Captive. By Alice Marriott. (David McKay Company, Inc., New York, 1965. Pp. 179. $3.75.)

This is the story of a ten-year-old redhead, Annie, daughter of a pioneer family that had emigrated from Tennessee to Indian Territory and then to Texas, seeking to recoup Civil War losses. Annie was stolen by the Kiowas and taken as the daughter of one who had lost his own child. Alice Marriott, the distinguished

authority on Kiowa, Cheyenne, Cherokee and other Oklahoma tribes is the author of this delightful juvenile book. Youngsters who love to read of Indian customs and Indian ways of life and older folk, interested in authenticity in reporting, will find *Indian Annie* a book to be treasured.

The story is about a young girl and her adjustment from pioneer child to Indian daughter. Based on real facts it was put together (says Miss Marriott) "from the recollections of many people . . . In other books I have tried to show the life of the rebellious Kiowas who resisted the changes white men brought into their lives. In this one I have tried to show what happened to those Kiowas who took the peace road and tried to adjust to the new ways that were introduced to them."

Annie finds her place within the tribal family as a translator, as interpreter of new ways and as a teacher. Part of the charm for young readers will be the way she becomes a heroine because she knows how to bake bread; and what to do with the first coffee beans the Kiowas ever saw. There is part of a chapter on tepee manners, too.

The day comes when little Annie must choose between her own parents and her Kiowa parents, and the reader will like her wise choice. Annie, or Little Hummingbird as she was named at the traditional Sun Dance, at last shares her life with a Kiowa brave, Black Wolf.

Although many readers may think the story the one of Millie Durgan Goombi, a white captive who grew up to marry a Kiowa, Miss Marriott says it is put together from many recollections, eye witness accounts and incidents that "found their way into my field notebook".

Throughout the story of *Indian Annie*, one catches the same sympathetic understanding of Kiowa life that Miss Marriott portrayed in her *Ten Grandmothers*, several years ago. She is the author of several books for adult readers as well as children, but *Indian Annie* might well become a classic among stories of Indian captives.

—Velma Nieberding

Miami, Oklahoma

The Last Days of the Sioux Nation. By Robert M. Utley. (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1963. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

The last chapter of the story of the long resistance of the Sioux Indians against the white man's advance into their do-

mains, culminating with the Ghost Dance uprising and the Battle of Wounded Knee, is told in this well-documented and extremely interesting book.

These Indians, who pushed to the Great Northwest and became the seven tribes of the Teton Sioux, had bonds of kinship and similar customs, made stronger by common enemies but had no central government. Their affiliation may be said more accurately to have been a loose federation rather than a nation.

Down the years the Sioux Indians had signed many treaties with the United States and had surrendered land in the most of them. In accepting the terms of the last Congressional Act of March 2, 1889, they would surrender millions of acres more. The act set aside six separate reservations on which allotments to individuals were to be made and the remainder surplus land of the Great Sioux Reservation would be ceded to the U. S. Government and be thrown open for settlement.

The opposition of the Indians was finally broken down in frequent meetings the Commission from Washington held with them, with the military in the background, and an agreement was reached.

So far the Indian Department's efforts to place the families on plots of land on which they could become self-sufficient farmers had not been a success. The Indians subsisted throughout the decade of the 1880's on the government's dole of rations after the disappearance of the buffalo, and the stimulating and rewarding hunts were no more.

Under the prompting of reform groups of the East, the Indian Bureau set out to "civilize" the Sioux along with other Indian tribes in an impossible short time. At the direction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, rules were designed to stamp out "demoralizing and barbarous customs" and Courts of Indian Offenses were organized at the agencies to implement them. It was an offense to have more than one wife, to hold feasts and dances, and with these and other proscriptions the social and religious framework of the tribe began to give way.

Religion dominated nearly all of the Sioux Indian's activities, the medicine men having much influence, and the Sun Dance of great importance. Helplessness and futility gripped the Sioux when suddenly supernatural help, as it seemed to them, appeared in an unexpected way.

News came of a Piute Indian who claimed to be the Indian Messiah and who had announced that a new religion had been revealed to him in a vision, which if accepted and its followers engaged in the "Ghost Dance" as it became to be known, the

Indians would be rescued from their adversities. The buffalo would be restored and not only would things be the same as they were, but much better. The Sioux became intensely interested and sent emissaries to the Piute reservation to get the truth. After they had interviewed Wovoka, the new prophet, they returned with wonderful tales, and the Ghost Dance religion took hold and spread among the Sioux as it did in other tribes, like a prairie fire before the wind.

The Sioux Reservation did not lack representatives of the press to cover the "Sioux War" brought on by the Ghost Dance mania, and the newspapers and journals printed many lurid stories, often inaccurate and exaggerated. Controversies over facts surrounding the arrest and death of Sitting Bull and the fight of Wounded Knee which sprang up and persist to this day, probably are due largely to the divergent accounts appearing in the press. The battle, to some, was a glorious triumph for the valourous soldiers of the Seventh U. S. Cavalry, who sought revenge for the Custer disaster. To others it was a cruel massacre of Indian warriors and innocent women and children.

To Robert Utley the truth lies between these extremes, "regretable tragic accident . . . for which neither side as a whole may be properly condemned." His vivid account of the fight and the events leading up to it, should clear up some misunderstandings which have grown up, about the tragic affair. The author points out that although only a comparatively few Sioux were followers of Big Foot and engaged in the battle, the results descended on the whole tribe in such overwhelming force that it shattered all illusions and the Ghost Dance religion with all it promised received a devastating blow.

There were some belligerents, however, who still resisted and made trouble. The last to come in and give up to General Nelson A. Miles, were the Brules, who surrendered at the Pine Ridge Agency.

After General Miles, through force and diplomacy had brought the conflict to an end, he placed troops about the reservation to make certain peace would continue permanently. Utley throws light on Miles' distrust of civilian administration at the agencies and his controversy with the Indian Bureau. General Miles succeeded in placing Army officers as agents at the agencies, but their tenure was brief. A delegation of Sioux chiefs which General Miles sent to Washington to meet with the President gave the Secretary of the Interior little time or consideration, and the Indians returned in an angry mood. Miles said the delegation was sent to promote confidence and loyalty with the Indians but the result was just the reverse.

Throughout the late winter and spring of 1891 the army remained alert, but summer came without any difficulties, and gradually the Sioux discarded the religion which had failed, as it promised to restore the old life. For them there was no choice but to submit to the new life.

Robert M. Utley has written an authoritative history of the last days of the Sioux Nation, which even with its many factual details, is an exceptionally readable book.

—Frank F. Finney, Sr.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGIES

Percy Constance Simons
1870-1962

One of Oklahoma's pioneer lawyers and a territorial attorney general, Percy C. Simons of Enid died in his home, March 8, 1962. Mr. Simons was born in Hamburg, Fremont County, Iowa, on Christmas Day, 1870. His parents moved to Sidney, Iowa, and later to Caldwell, Kansas. He was educated in the public schools of both cities. In 1890 he graduated from the University of Kansas law school and practiced law in Sidney, Iowa, and Caldwell and Wellington, Kansas. He made the run into the Cherokee Outlet in 1893, but was unable to find a claim that suited him, so he waited until one that interested him was relinquished. Such a claim developed south of Renfrow in Grant County. Simons acquired it and proved his title while still maintaining his law office north across the state line in Caldwell, Kansas. He later moved to Pond Creek in Grant County, then the county seat, and practiced law with Judge A. M. Mackey until January, 1904.

Simons was appointed the Attorney General for the Territory of Oklahoma by Governor Thompson Benton Ferguson on February 1, 1904. He succeeded Judge J. C. Robberts of Kingfisher who had resigned. Simons was reappointed March 17, 1905 by Governor Ferguson for a term to expire in 1907. Under the laws of the Territory, the attorney general was required to appear for the Territory and prosecute and defend all actions and proceedings, civil or criminal, in the territorial Supreme Court in which the Territory was an interested party. He was authorized to give legal opinions to the Governor, other territorial officials, the Legislature and to prosecute any official bond or breach thereof and to prepare official contracts and other drafts which the Territory might require. The respect with which Governor Ferguson held Mr. Simons is demonstrated by a letter the Governor wrote to his close friend, Dennis Flynn, following the appointment of Simons. Wrote Ferguson: "I appointed (as attorney general) as good a lawyer, in my judgment, as there is in the territory, one upon whose integrity, and ability and friendship I can rely."

As an aggressive and competent attorney general, in the two years he represented the Territory, he lost only one case. His work load was heavy for in his first year in office he appeared for the Territory in thirty six criminal cases before the Supreme Court. Before the United States Supreme Court he successfully argued that the conviction of John T. New, who had been convicted in Washita County for the murder of his brother-in-law and given a life sentence, should be sustained. Undoubtedly his most important case as attorney general was against the American Bonding Company of Baltimore in which he argued that the company should be compelled to reimburse the territory for the defunct Capital National Bank of Guthrie. The Surety company had executed a bond for $250,000 to protect the territorial funds on deposit in the bank and had refused to pay the bond. Before the Supreme Court, Simon's position was sustained and the Company paid the bond. He also recovered $18,000 of the Territory's funds which had been deposited with the bank shortly before its collapse.

Attorney General Simons gained much notice for his vigorous prosecution of illegal practitioners of medicine in the Territory. Quick to catch flaws in the laws passed by the Territorial Legislature, he

PERCY CONSTANCE SIMONS

asked that the revenue laws be amended and that the oil inspection law and the board of health legislation be amended so that they would have greater strength.

Although Simon's term did not expire until 1907, he submitted his resignation to Governor Frantz shortly after the latter was inagurated in January, 1906. In order that Frantz might appoint as attorney general someone of his own choosing. Simons was succeeded April 1, 1906 by W. O. Cromwell of Enid. Simons himself went to Enid, which he called a "splendid and thriving city," to enter into the practice of law with C. H. Parker.

Joe Glasser, one of Simon's colleagues at the bar, has called the late Attorney General, "A complete advocate, one who studied not only his side of the case, but his opponent's side as well. "Among his colleagues Simons was regarded as a giant of a lawyer and possessed of a keen intellect. His office hours were seldom less than ten hours a day and often included Saturday and Sunday as well. As an outstanding lawyer he was retained as local counsel by many large eastern corporations that had great capital invested in Oklahoma, including the New York Gas Company, American Investment Company, Prudential Insurance Company, Pillsbury Mills, U. S. Fidelity and Guaranty, Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, Sears Roebuck, the Maryland Gas Company and the Travelers Insurance Company. He had many prominent Oklahoma clients including Judge M. C. Garber, whom he represented before the United States Supreme Court in *Crews vs. Garber*, the George E. Failing Company, Eason Oil Company, Enid Elevator Corporation, Oklahoma Natural Gas, W. B. Johnston Grain Company, Continental Grain Company, and banks in Enid, Meno, Hunter and other Northwestern Oklahoma cities. His legal associates included C. H. Parker, E. B. Mitchell, L. E. McKnight, Joe Neal and R. W. Simons.

A life long Republican, Simons was active in the affairs of his party and was a delegate to numerous state conventions and was a delegate to the 1916 Republican National Convention.

Mr. Simon's first wife was Lillian Williamson of Caldwell, Kansas, whom he married on December 27, 1892. Some years after her death, he married Miss Dorothy Ballard on November 12, 1953. Mr. Simon's son, R. W. Simons, was killed in an automobile accident in 1961; Simon's daughter Mrs. R. W. Tripett, now resides in Bartlesville. Former Attorney General Simons was buried July 10, 1962 in the Enid Cemetery.

Mr. Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court himself once a county seat lawyer wrote: "The county seat lawyer who always gave to each the best there was in him has been an American institution. Such a man understands the structure of society and how its groups interlock and interact because he lives in a community small enough that he can keep it all in view. He sees how this society lives and works under the law and adjusts its conflicts by its procedures. He knows how disordered and hopelessly unstable it would be without law. He knows that the only true civil liberties are those which some lawyer respected by his neighbors will stand up to defend. The county seat lawyer was as American as a hooked rug, a pine chest or maple sugar."

P. C. Simons of Enid, Oklahoma, was truly this kind of county seat lawyer.

—Stephen Jones

Norman, Oklahoma

CLARENCE LESTER WILLIS

1883-1963

The death of Clarence L. Willis, at the age of eighty years was in McAlester, on December 11, 1963, ending a career of fifty-five years of service in banking and finance. Services for Mr. Willis were held at Wesley Methodist Church with the Reverend Clayton Hughes, assisted by the Reverend Littleton Fowler, officiating. Burial was in Oak Hill Cemetery.

Clarence L. Willis was of Choctaw descent, born July 20, 1883, at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, to which settlement both maternal and paternal grandparents had come from Mississippi over the "Trail of Tears." From both parental lines he inherited a rugged sense of duty. His was a colorful ancestry from which began early service in the development of America.

His maternal grandparents were Calvin D. and Sallie Gibson Ervin who came with the Choctaws to Doaksville in 1832. Ervin, a graduate of Mecklinberg College, North Caroline, had taught in the Indian school at Huntsville, Alabama, under Dr. Kilpatrick. Sallie, a full-blood Choctaw, was a granddaughter of Hopia Iskitini, a Choctaw warrior know better as Captain Little Leader who fought in the Wars of 1812 and 1814. Calvin Ervin taught school in Old Doaksville and at Glover Creek, near Red River, Choctaw Nation, and was also a merchant in Old Doaksville. He served as postmaster there from May 8, to October 4, 1850; and from May 28, 1867 to September 13, 1868.

Mr. and Mrs. Calvin Ervin had twelve children, nine of whom survived and married into prominent pioneer families: Nancy Caroline married Wade Hampton, attorney; Mary Jane, Judge Frank Freeny; Christopher Columbus, Lizzie Everidge; Alice, Captain Lohman; Delilah, J. Hampton Willis; Margaret, Judge T. E. Oakes; Susan, Captain Joe Everidge; Emily, William Willis, William Lee Ervin married Rose Miller.

Paternal grandparents of Clarence Willis were R. B. ("Britt") Willis and Margaret Willis who were also the grandparents of Gabe E. Parker and J. Hampton Tucker.[1] Clarence Willis's mother, the late Mrs. Emily Christian, Hartshorne, received her A. B. degree from Clarksville Female Seminary, Tennessee. She acted as a Choctaw interpreter and translator in the courts, in later life.

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[1] Gabe E. Parker was known prominently as a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention, in which he headed the Committee that provided the Great Seal of the State. He spent most of his years in the U. S. Indian Office field, serving for a time as Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes Agency at Muskogee, and in other large Indian agencies in other states.

Mr. J. Hampton Tucker of McAlester was prominent in Choctaw affairs for a long period after statehood, serving for a time as Choctaw Attorney and then for many years as Tribal Mining Trustee. He was still active in this service and the interests of the Choctaws when the tribal coal properties (about 380,000 acres) were sold by contract to the United States Government in 1947. The sale of the coal properties closed the vast Choctaw landed estate except for some tribal claims before the U. S. Court of Claims.—Ed.

CLARENCE LESTER WILLIS

When eight years old, Clarence Willis came with his widowed mother, brother and sister—the late Perry Willis and Mrs. Frank James —to Hartshorne, then Tobucksy County, Choctaw Nation (1891), to be near her sister, Mrs. Frank Freeny. He attended rural schools graduating from Jones Academy for Choctaw boys near Hartshorne. He later was a teacher in Jones Academy for three years. He also attended Stillwater A. and M. College, now Oklahoma State University.

In 1910, he began seventeen years of work with the National Bank of Hartshorne and the First State Bank. He served on the school board and in the Masonic Lodge. In February, 1927, he moved to McAlester where he worked for the next nineteen years as vice-president of the Bank of McAlester. In 1946, he became Manager of the McAlester Production Credit Association, a position which he held for the next seventeen years, retiring January 1, 1963.

He was twice married. In 1911, he married Miss Fanny Whitehead. To this union were born four children, three of whom survive. She died December 25, 1952. He was married again August 28, 1957 to Mrs. Beatrice Ashmore Shipp who preceded him in death September 30, 1963.

Mr. Willis is survived by one son, Leon Willis of McAlester; two daughters, Mrs. Eston Emerson of Tulsa and Mrs. Homer Fulsom of Lawton; three sisters—Mrs. Frances Rhodes and Mrs. Dean Corley (McAlester) and Mrs. Ray Matthiewson (Tampa, Florida); eight grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

An organizer of the Pittsburg County 4-H Clubs, Mr. Willis worked closely with the farmers, ranchers, 4-H and F.F.A. boys in his area of Southeastern Oklahoma for over fifty years. He was a member of the Lions Club, Country Club, Chamber of Commerce and Life Board Member of Grand Avenue Methodist Church .He was deeply religious and considerate of everyone in every walk of life. His brilliant, scholarly mind had unusual depth in evaluating a situation but always he rendered justice and wisdom.

He was one of the last living links with the early-day Choctaw life in the Indian Territory. Of him, it can be truly said: "He was born to serve, rather than be served."

—Mary Jo Turner

Washington, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 29, 1965

At 9:30 a.m. on Thursday, April 29th, the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the auditorium of the Society Building.

In the absence of President George H. Shirk, who was on a trip to Europe, Vice-President H. Milt Phillips presided. He called on Miss Genevieve Seger, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society to give the invocation.

The Chair introduced Vice-President Fisher Muldrow who in turn presented Judge John E. Luttrell of Norman who gave the memorial address for Judge Richard H. Cloyd who was a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Members of the Cloyd family present were: Mrs. Agnes Cloyd, Norman, widow; Mrs. Dorothy Cloyd McAdams, Bristow, daughter; Mr. Thomas P. McAdams, Jr., Bristow, son-in-law; Miss Janet McAdams, Bristow, granddaughter; Mrs. Maurice W. Goodman, Apache, niece; .Mr. H. Malone, Apache, nephew.

Judge Luttrell's memorial address was an eloquent testimony to the fine character of Judge Cloyd, and a tribute to his many accomplishments. A copy of the address will be printed in a future issue of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA.

Mr. Phillips thanked Judge Luttrell for his words of tribute to Judge Cloyd and expressed appreciation to the Cloyd family for the fine contributions the Judge had made to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A long-time friend of the Cloyd family, State Senator John W. Young of Sapulpa, was presented. He was introduced to the audience by Mr. Phillips.

Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, professor of history at Oklahoma State University, gave a final report on the activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. In his presentation, Dr. Fischer gave a brief description of the events of the war that led up to the surrender of General Stand Watie at Doaksville on June 23, 1865. The speaker commended President George H. Shirk for the splendid work he had done in preparing a day-by-day item of the Civil War. These items have been printed in many Oklahoma newspapers during the past four years. The speaker also expressed thanks to the Oklahoma Historical Society for its support and cooperation in the Civil War Centennial Commission's work.

Appearing next on the program was Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Society. Mr. Fraker gave a brief address on "A New Day for the Oklahoma Historical Society." In his remarks Mr. Fraker outlined the progress the Oklahoma Historical Society had been making toward rendering a greater service to the Oklahoma public. A copy of his address will appear in a future issue of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA.

Mr. Phillips expressed appreciation to those who had appeared on the program. He introduced Mrs. Cloyd and her daughter Mrs. Dorothy Cloyd McAdams, who in turn expressed appreciation to the Society for conducting memorial services for their husband and father.

A brief business session was held at which Mr. Joe W. McBride moved that all actions that had been taken by the Board of Directors during the year be approved. This motion was seconded by Judge Robert A. Hefner and adopted when put to a vote. Both Mr. McBride and Judge Hefner are members of the Board of Directors.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the meeting, Mr. Phillips declared the session adjourned at 10:35 a.m.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
Vice-President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS — OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 29, 1965

With Vice-President H. Milt Phillips presiding, the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order at 10:55 a.m. on Thursday, April 29, 1965. President George H. Shirk was absent, due to a trip he was making in Europe.

As the first order of business, Mr. Phillips introduced Mr. Bob Foresman and Mr. Morton R. Harrison, both of Tulsa, who had been nominated to fill the unexpired terms of Mr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who was resigning from the Board, and Judge Richard H. Cloyd, deceased. It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Mr. Curtis that the two nominees for the Board be officially seated. The motion was adopted unanimously. Mr. Phillips pointed out that Mr. Foresman's term would expire in January of 1970, and that Mr. Harrison's would expire in January of 1968.

Mr. Harrison expressed his appreciation of having been elected to the Board, as also did Mr. Foresman.

Roll call showed the following members present: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Bob Foresman, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Morton R. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, and Miss Genevieve Seger.

Absent members were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, and President George H. Shirk. It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle that all absent members be excused. This motion was seconded by Mr. Boydstun and adopted by the Board.

Mr. Fraker reported thirty new annual memberships had been added to the Society during the quarter and that a considerable number of gifts and contributions had been made. Dr. Harbour moved, with Dr. Dale seconding, that the new memberships be approved and the gifts accepted. The motion was carried.

Copies of the new brochures and membership card were shown by the Administrative Secretary. He said the brochures had already been placed on sale at the reception desk. One of the pamphlets was called "Oklahoma Symbols" and the other "The Chisholm and Western Trails."

Mr. Fraker stated the brochure on Oklahoma land runs was in the process of being completed.

It was called to the attention of the Board by Mr. Fraker that a repainting job was being done throughout the building. He stated he was most appreciative of the Building and Grounds Superintendent and the State Board of Affairs for having this work done.

Approval was asked by the Administrative Secretary for the purchase, from special funds, of a painting done by Augusta Metcalfe. He pointed out Mrs. Metcalfe had become an artist of national repute and that the Society did not have one of her paintings. He said a painting could be purchased for $250.00. It was moved by Mr. Curtis, with a second from Judge Hefner, that authoriation for this purchase be granted. The motion was unanimously adopted.

At this time Miss Seger introduced two guests who were present at the meeting. Those presented were Mrs. A. Ed Perry, a life member of the Society, and Miss Anne Mary Bentley.

That the Board take official cognizance of Mr. Finney's having recently been appointed a member of the Board of Regents of Oklahoma State University, was requested by Mr. Muldrow. Members of the Board indicated their congratulations to Mr. Finney on having received this honor.

The quarterly Treasurer's report was made by Mrs. Bowman. This report showed all accounts of the Society in satisfactory condition.

Mr. McBride gave details relative to the purchase by the Society of a wood carving by Willard Stone. Mr. McBride was chairman of the committee that had been appointed to consummate the purchase. He asked the following description of the wood carving be made as a matter of record:

> "The carving is 33½" in width and 43" in length. It has a solid walnut background a full inch thick carved into the shape of post oak leaves. The bas-relief is mounted on this oak leaf background. It depicts the famed Sequoyah teaching two students the Cherokee alphabet. The children are a boy and a girl, typical Cherokee portraits. The bas-relief is wild cherry wood ranging in thickness from 1⅜" to almost cut through. All wood is native Oklahoma wood. The artistic signature of Willard Stone is on the leaf and on the turbaned head."

It was stated by Mr. McBride that this description was made a matter of record for the purpose of satisfying copyright regulations. He said the special committee on the carving had agreed to give Mr. Stone a royalty of 8 per cent on the sale of any reproductions of the sculpture made by the Society. He said such copyright would be in the name of the Society. He requested the Chair to appoint one of the attorney members of the Board to arrange for securing the copyright.

It was moved by Mr. Muldrow and seconded by Mr. Boydstun that the Board approve the request of Mr. McBride in this matter. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Curtis and Judge Busby were appointed by the Chair to act as co-council to assist Mr. McBride in drawing up the required application for obtaining the copyright.

In a discussion on increasing the membership of the Society Mr. Muldrow suggested that the President and the Administrative Secretary prepare plans of their ideas of what would make an effective membership campaign. Mr. Fraker said his office would soon be mailing out the new invitation cards to annual membership.

Dr. Morrison outlined plans for the program of dedication on June 22nd of the Fort Washita restoration and of the marker at the Colbert cemetery. This was to be done as a part of the activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

In reporting on the activities of the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride said the company that originally had the contract for publishing THE CHRONICLES had gone out of that type of business and now the Times-Journal was printing the publication. He suggested a memorial book plan be put in operation in the library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to be worked out by the Library Committee.

A report for the Library Committee was made by Mr. Curtis. He said the committee had met, and a copy of its minutes was being attached hereto. He said that Mrs. Dorothy Williams, librarian, had resigned, and that the Administrative Secretary had secured the services of Mrs. Grace Jackson as a replacement. The new librarian, he said, had been requested by Mr. Fraker to prepare a list of suggested rules and regulations for use of the library facilities.

When the Legislative Committee's report was called for, Chairman Curtis requested Mr. Fraker to outline that committee's activities. In doing so, Mr. Fraker said a satisfactory appropriation bill for the Oklahoma Historical Society had been passed by both the Senate and the House, but would go to conference committee before final approval. He observed that the recent negative vote by the people of Oklahoma on increasing taxes might affect the appropriation for the Society. He expressed the hope that if any cuts were made, they would be minor. He said the bill transferring historic sites from the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board to the Oklahoma Historical Society had passed the House and was now in the Senate committee on Parks and Recreation.

Mr. Muldrow remarked that he thought after the first feelings of disappointment had subsided in the Legislature, ways and means would be found of financing state government and the Historical Society would probably receive most of its request.

In reporting on the annual Oklahoma Historical Society tour, Mr. Fraker said it would be only a two-day affair and would be handled in conjunction with the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. He stated that the costs of the tour, other than housing, would be $15.00.

Mr. Miller suggested that the Board of Directors authorize the transferring of the recently restored stagecoach, now in the basement of the Historical Society Building, to the Cowboy Hall of Fame museum. He maintained the stagecoach should be on display at the Cowboy Hall of Fame, until the Society could better show it.

Judge Busby moved the Society go through with the necessary procedure to protect the legal aspects of such action and that the stagecoach be transferred to the care and custody of the Cowboy Hall of Fame.

The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour who explained her second was made in order that the matter might be discussed. Dr. Harbour

stated she was unalterably opposed to transferring the stagecoach or any other property of the Oklahoma Historical Society to another organization. She asserted that the long years of struggle by the staff and officials of the Society to acquire the wonderful collections now held, would be undone piece by piece if the proposed procedure were adopted.

In supporting Dr. Harbour's viewpoint, Mr. Fraker said a temporary loan of a few weeks or a month of Historical Society items to organizations might be advisable, but that permanent or long-time loans would be most damaging and detrimental to the Society's museum development. He said for the Society to make such loans to museums outside its control would be acts of self-destruction.

After considerable discussion of the topic, it was moved by Mr. Curtis and seconded by Mr. Boydstun that the motion be tabled. The motion to table was adopted by the Board.

A copy of the book THIS IS THREE FORKS COUNTRY by Phil Harris was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Mountcastle. On behalf of the Society Judge Busby expressed thanks to Mr. Mountcastle for this gift.

At the previous meeting of the Board, Mr. McBride had been appointed as a committee of one to decide on how the money from Dr. Clifford L. Lord, President of Hofstra University, for a memorial to Mrs. Elmer Fraker, should be spent. He announced that as a memorial to Mrs. Fraker he was presenting to the library, in Dr. Lord's name, a book on American glass. He added that a proper memorial plate had been placed on the title page of the book.

The Chair appointed Mr. Muldrow to write a note of thanks and appreciation to Dr. Lord for his contribution to the memorial.

Mr. Phillips expressed a sincere welcome on the part of the Board to the two new members. He said he knew both of them would make worthwhile contributions to the development of the Society.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
Vice-President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FIRST QUARTER, 1965

LIBRARY:

Collection of General R. A. Sneed
Campaign Posters of R. A. Sneed—Democratic Candidate for Oklahoma Secretary of State.

Campaign Posters of R. A. Sneed—Democratic Candidate for Oklahoma State Treasurer.

Placards issued in 1935 by Oklahoma Tax Commission of House Bill #440 Oklahoma Consumer's Tax Law of 1 Per Cent Sales Tax Collection. Collection of Unused Tax Commission Forms and Blanks.

Three Cuts of General R. A. Sneed:

1 wearing Confederate Uniform

1 in Civilian suit having Gen. Sneed's signature beneath picture

1 small cut of head and shoulders

Three large packages of blank United Confederate Veteran Membership Certificates issued by Trans-Mississippi Department of United Confederate Veterans Association.

Folder of Personal Correspondence of General Sneed's.

Copies of Announcement Form: "General Sneed Historical Essay Contest March 29, 1935."

Box of Unused Personal Campaign Letterhead Stationery of R. A. Sneed relating to Secretary of State and State Treasurer.

Box of Duplicates and Other Forms—Secretary of State and State Treasurer.

Pamphlet: "Alabama Proceedings of Convention to Pass upon Ratification or Rejection of Proposed Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, August 8, 1933."

Pamphlet: "Sketch of the Origin and Creation of the Confederate Memorial Institute at Richmond, Virginia." Prepared by: Hon. George L. Christian.

Pamphlet: "Ceremonies Attending the Presentation and Unveiling of the North Carolina Memorial on the Battlefield of Gettysburg—Wednesday, July 3, 1929."

Pamphlet: "Stone Mountain Confederate Monumental Association," Atlanta, Georgia. Report of Audit of Accounts for the Period April 12, 1916 to March 31, 1925.

1 copy of *Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial Magazine,* November, 1926.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

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1907

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Cover: The front cover shows a store at Sapulpa, Indian Territory, 1893. Standing left to right: John Burrow, Jr., Tom Burrow, Frank Smith, Alice Menifee, J. C. "Jim" Menifee, Betty Menifee, Tom Squire ("Euchee" Tom Squire), Newell Menifee, Bill Ralston, John Burrow, Sr. See "Life and Society in Sapulpa" in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

BOOSTER ATTITUDES OF SOME NEWSPAPERS IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY— "THE LAND OF THE FAIR GOD"

*By Bobby H. Johnson**

"Hell is full of newspapermen who killed themselves blowing for some little one horse town, and that too without enough support to fatten a grasshopper. We have decided that it is a sin to lie anyway, and in the future we'll be found telling the truth." [1]

The editor who penned the foregoing statement obviously suffered from what modern society calls "job fatigue." The next week probably found him back in his "sinful" ways as the town's leading promoter — a role inevitably filled by the pioneer journalist. Two factors explain this situation. First, the frontier editor, as a businessman, had a vital interest in the growth of his town and the state or territory in which it was located; and secondly, he possessed the literary skills and inclinations necessary to transform a dusty town into a booming city or an undeveloped area into a prosperous region. The result was a colorful form of journalism based on optimism, exaggeration, and even prevarication.

Such boosters were present in Oklahoma Territory from the beginning. Almost every town had its self-appointed promoters, many of whom attained some measure of official recognition by gaining the county printing plum. They bombarded their readers with weekly reports of community progress, along with an occasional chiding when the facts lagged behind the newspaper's enthusiasm. Indeed, it was an editor's obligation to use his paper as an organ of public promotion. This study will show how four territorial newspapers performed that function in the early 1890's. [2]

In proclaiming the praises of Oklahoma, the pioneer editor was following an established precedent. As an island of unsettled land surrounded by several older states, Oklahoma had

---

* Mr. Bobby H. Johnson, a native of Texas is a graduate of Abilene Christian College (B.A., 1958), and received the M.A. degree in journalism from the University of Oklahoma in 1962. He is a graduate assistant in the History Department, O.U., completing the requirements for a Ph.D. in history. He was a newspaperman in Abilene, Texas, and in Little Rock, Arkansas, before entering graduate school.—Ed.

[1] An anonymous Texas newspaper, as quoted in the *Watonga Republican,* December 20, 1893.

[2] The following papers are the sources used in this article: *El Reno Democrat,* Canadian County; *Kingfisher Free Press,* Kingfisher County; *Watonga Republican,* Blaine County; and *Arapahoe Arrow* and *Arapahoe Bee,* Custer County. They were selected because of their geographical relation to the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in the western part of the territory.

(Oklahoma Historical Society Collection)

Kingfisher after the "Run" in 1889

long fascinated white promoters. Despite plans to reserve the territory as a home for Indians, various interests beseeched the United States government to open the area to white settlement. Among the early boosters were the railroads, which, by arousing land-hungry whites with glowing reports, hoped to gain a share of the profits that settlement would bring. Businessmen in St. Louis and merchants in the surrounding border towns also supported the opening of Oklahoma. [3]

The ready-made enthusiasm of the vested interests proved insufficient, however, and it became necessary to exert more direct pressure on the government. Eventually it was the American home seeker — the forgotten man in the annals of the American West, as Dr. Edward E. Dale has described him — who was responsible for the settlement of Oklahoma. As the national domain dwindled, the opportunity to claim a quarter section of land became even more enticing to a large element of the nation's growing population. [4] Cattlemen who leased land in the Indian country stimulated interest in the agricultural possibilities of the area, although they strongly opposed opening the land to settlement for fear of losing a source of cheap grass. Hopeful farmers were fascinated by reports of the rich land along the Washita River and the fertile prairie between the Cimarron and Salt Fork rivers. The major question was whether these areas would support cotton and wheat. [5] Only by persuading the government to remove its barriers would the home seeker find an answer. The activities of several boomer groups, particularly those of David L. Payne and William L. Couch, soon hastened a change in political views concerning Oklahoma and finally resulted in the opening of the area by a series of dramatic runs and lotteries, the first of which took place on April 22, 1889. [6]

Thousands of settlers entered Oklahoma as other sections were opened, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation and the Cherokee Outlet. W. H. Johnson, an early settler near El Reno, later recalled that settlement rose steadily from 1890

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[3] Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), pp. 280-81.

[4] The population of the United States grew rapidly after the Civil War, increasing 50 per cent in three decades. The West grew even faster, as shown by growth of Texas from less than a million inhabitants in 1870 to more than two and one-fourth million in 1890. Kansas rose from less than half a million in 1870 to nearly one and one-half million in 1890. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Comprehensive accounts of the opening of Oklahoma Territory may be found in Carl C. Rister, *Land Hunger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942; Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939); and Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942).

to 1895. The comments of many early Oklahomans in the "Indian-Pioneer Papers" reveal that the pioneers themselves sought to bring in even more settlers. For instance, Mrs. Alpha P. Hurst of El Reno told how her father fell in love with Oklahoma after moving from Missouri. He later persuaded Mrs. Hurst and her family to join him. Another early resident of Canadian County, Mrs. Francis J. Johnson, related how she and her husband migrated to El Reno from Nebraska in 1892 after listening to a relative's description of the new country. [7]

Despite the large numbers that flocked into Oklahoma, many people shied away from a land so recently filled with "wild" Indians. Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, a pioneer journalist in western Oklahoma, observed that many persons considered the territory a "conglomeration of wild and dangerous Indians, of Outlaws, rattlesnakes and coyotes." [8] Admittedly a biased observer, Mrs. Ferguson believed that the territorial editor was largely responsible for changing the public image of Oklahoma. [9]

A brief investigation of the official reports of the Oklahoma Press Association reveals that the journalists themselves were aware of their role. When the Association convened at El Reno in August, 1895, its members left little doubt concerning their feelings about the future of Oklahoma. They proclaimed their new home the "land of the fair god" and eagerly accepted the obligation to tell the world about it. Accordingly, the editors passed the following resolution denouncing those who would smear the name of Oklahoma: [10]

> The Press Association of Oklahoma, having the best interests of the territory at heart and being fully identified with its past, present and future . . . look with alarm at the many monstrous untruths contained in the associated press reports sent broadcast from the various towns of this territory in regard to crimes and misdemeanors which are multiplied in a senational way until, figuratively speaking, a mouse becomes an elephant, which injures our "land of the Fair God," from the fact that timid capitol and more timid human nature refuse to come among us to invest or make homes . . .

This booster attitude had been evident from the convention's opening session, when President T. F. Hensley of El Reno

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[7] "Indian-Pioneer Papers", XLVIII, 431; XLVI, 121; XLVIII, 231. These papers are located in the Phillips Collection of the University of Oklahoma library. Another set is available at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

[8] Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch: The Story of Oklahoma's Pioneer Newspapers* (Kansas City, Missouri: Burton Publishing Co., 1937), p. 17. This attitude on the part of some continued until well past 1900. See "Afraid of the Wild Country," *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, I (October, 1905), p. 81.

[9] Ferguson, *They Carried the Torch*, p. 18.

[10] *Official Report of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association*. El Reno, August 16-17, 1895, p. 11.

declared that Oklahoma editors had a "patriotic pride" in everything pertaining to the prosperity and development of the territory, an area described as "an empire within itself." [11]

The press's loyalty to the home land had not gone unnoticed. At the Association's 1894 meeting at Guthrie, the city's official representative had welcomed the newspapermen as the "chief promoters" of Oklahoma. He exclaimed: "Every editor in Oklahoma has been assiduous in letting the world at large understand that here is to be found as much refinement, education, fashion, progress and industry as can be found in any of the older communities of the United States." [12] Despite its chauvinistic view of Oklahoma, such a statement was essentially correct in its assessment of the territorial journalist, as the following paragraphs will show.

EL RENO DEMOCRAT

One of the most enthusiastic proponents of Oklahoma was the *El Reno Democrat.* Like many frontier publications, this paper had a rapid turnover of editors in its early days. Founded in 1891 by Extus L. Gay and William A. Clute, the *Democrat* soon boasted that it was the largest weekly in Oklahoma. Early in 1892 Clute assumed complete control of the *Democrat* and operated it for a few months before selling the paper to T. F. Hensley. Apparently convinced by his own propaganda, Clute announced that he had chosen to remain in El Reno, the future "queen of all cities in the Territory." [13]

To the reader, it must have appeared that El Reno had already gained her regal position. Before the paper was a year old, its editors were proclaiming their town "Oklahoma's Future Capital." Her fame as the "Queen of the Canadian" was also attracting train-loads of settlers. Such growth led the two journalists to boast: "Who can look at the map and then say El Reno is not the place to cast your fortunes and reap the advantages of all." The *Democrat* considered El Reno's assets as varied as the hues of the western sunsets that smiled on her nearly every day. Even the City's natural location was hailed as an advantage for health reasons. The editors saw "little use for Drs. here as nearly all the people die either with their boots on or by old age."

With so many healthy residents, the editors assumed that El Reno was destined to become a commercial center. Consequently, the announcement of a street railway franchise in mid-August of 1891 was merely "another indication that El Reno's future is bright and promising." A glance at the editorial column

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

12 *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Oklahoma Press Association.* Guthrie, May 29, 1894.

13 *El Reno Democrat,* July 9, 1892.

of October 24, 1891, should have convinced any skeptic that things *were* bright in El Reno. The editors proudly noted that property in El Reno (presumably the number of buildings) had increased 50 per cent in the past week — an indication that the city was undergoing a construction boom. Someone apparently forgot to build an adequate hotel, however, prompting the *Democrat* to complain that housing accommodations were inadequate for the estimated one thousand strangers who were in El Reno weekly. As a remedy, the paper modestly suggested the construction of a one-hundred room hotel.

The presence of so many new people, some of whom were sure to stay, insured the future of El Reno. On the paper's first birthday, the *Democrat* described the town's growth from a "city of shacks and temporary structures to a city of magnificent blocks and commercial supremacy." Two weeks later it charged that such rapid growth had finally shocked the eastern side of the territory into realizing that it had competition. With the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho country only a month away, the *Democrat* boasted that El Reno's position was not to be "sneezed at" — especially since she was destined to become the "Southwestern wonder."

In addition to her growth, El Reno had gained the support of another paper. The *Democrat* carried an exchange item from the neighboring *Yukon* Courier in the fall of 1891 urging Canadian County to make its county seat a "great city and capital of the great state that is to be." Commenting on the article, the *Democrat* said it also deplored the futility of a county seat fight: "Canadian claims to be the banner county of Oklahoma territory, as such it should work . . . to advance her common interests."

The *Democrat's* boasting was not restricted to the hard facts of El Reno's economic and commercial growth, however. Part of it was couched in the rustic humor of a small town in the 1890's. For instance, a bit of poetry borrowed from another Oklahoma newspaper personified different towns as girls by describing their kisses. The Norman girl, the poet exclaimed, absorbed a kiss with a "yearning yearn," while the Edmond girl refused at first but finally consented and took the lead with her kiss. Adding a stanza, the *Democrat* had this description of El Reno:

"The El Reno girl well knows just how,
To linger with the occulation:
Sweet pouting lips meet yours half-way,
While you embrace—the situation."

In another humorous attempt, the *Democrat* reported that several men had interested the Creator in El Reno by filing on lots for him, but the editor was unable to ascertain whether "He" would accept.

(Oklahoma Historical Society Collection)

Main Street in El Reno, 1893

The newspaper was more definite concerning the intentions of restless Americans back East. In August, 1891, the editor revealed that at least three excursions would visit Oklahoma before the year was out, thereby allowing the people of the North and East to see for themselves the "wonderful productivity and advantages of this country." Perhaps, wrote the editor, they would realize it offered new hope for thousands in the frigid North. Not only did Oklahoma abound in cheap, fertile land, he continued, but it also overflowed with intelligent people whose push ranked them among the nation's best.

If the El Reno *Democrat* was any indication of the "push" that motivated Oklahoma, then it *was* truly a land of opportunity. One of the paper's best efforts at boosting the new country appeared in the fall of 1891. Entitled "The Great Southwest," the editorial described the area as one of the richest and most beautiful sections in the entire world—"a country which for several months in the year holds winter in its hand, spring in its arms, and summer in its lap, all at the same time." The writer proclaimed that the Southwest had "arisen from the baptisms of blood and Red man's vengeance and taken on the ways of civilization." In addition to the blessings of a resourceful population, the area enjoyed varied natural assets, including rich soil and valuable coal and iron fields. In short, the Southwest offered greater opportunity than any other part of the United States. Such devotion to the home land often led to melodramatic and even poetic prose, as the following excerpt from another editorial in the *Democrat* indicates: "Who can pass through Oklahoma at this time, and say she is not blooming like a rose. Her valleys and hills are covered with growing grain and every industry is throbbing with life, indicating success."

Despite the open invitation of Oklahoma, there was one group that found itself unwelcome. This was the Negro, or the "sons of Ham" as the *Democrat* chose to call him. Fortunately, the editor declared, El Reno could rejoice because few Negroes had settled there, but he deplored the fact that *any* had come to the territory. Their presence, he feared, would only retard Oklahoma's growth. In a period when racial discrimination was gaining in legal status, the writer could safely declare: "With a big crop of corn, wheat and cotton, and a small crop of niggars thus diminishing the chances of the G.O.P., we expect to thrive in this neck of the woods."

While he condemned the Negro for moving into the white man's domain, the editor of the *Democrat* eagerly urged white men to settle on land that formerly belonged to another racial minority, the Indian. Some eight months before the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation was opened to settlement on April 19, 1892, the *Democrat* began promoting the vast area of more than four

million acres. Since the western part of Canadian County stood to gain extra territory and El Reno additional business, the paper vigorously boosted the area. Recalling the memorable opening of 1889, when the settler's starting place proved all-important, the *Democrat* urged those interested in the new country to make El Reno their point of departure.

In successive issues the editor predicted that there would never again be such a rush to any country. Blessed with rich land, nutritious grasses, and bubbling brooks, the Cheyenne-Arapaho country would offer the perfect home to those who sought prosperity and wealth. To the cattleman it was a paradise; to the boomer, a land of promise. In comparison with another opening in the eastern part of the territory, the *Democrat* charged that a quarter section of the Cheyenne-Arapaho land was worth more than the entire "Pottawatomie country." [14]

As the date for the opening neared, the *Democrat* prophesied that the entire area would be settled in three days, followed by an upsurge in the business of El Reno's supply houses. Ten days before the run, the journal reported that ten thousand boomers were in the El Reno vicinity. Once more, the writer's imagination produced a vivid picture: "The vast unsettled country will in a day become densely populated and large cities will spring into existence as if by magic. Truly in Oklahoma wonders never cease." But this was mild compared to the news account that appeared in the *Democrat* a few days after the opening: "All at once the wild unsettled region of 4,000,000 acres had been transfured from the land of the aboriganees and was claimed by the progressive Aryan who had centurys ago set the star of Empire to the west and following up every advantage now claimed the larger part of the civilized world." [15]

The *Democrat* failed to report, however, that there were far more claims available than there were settlers. Consequently, much of the land, mostly in the western half of the tract, remained unsettled for years." [16]

Although many settlers were unwilling to remain in an area beset by extremes in weather, the editor nevertheless boasted of Oklahoma's climate—especially in comparison with states to the north. In March, 1892, he noted that Oklahoma was enjoying "beautiful spring weather" while the northwest was undergoing a blizzard. Later, he observed that Omaha, Nebraska, had snow on May 31, retorting that "in Oklahoma, farmers are preparing for harvest." [17]

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14 *Democrat,* October 3, 1891. Ceded lands of the Shawnee-Pottawatomie Indians, along with surplus lands of other tribes, were opened to settlement on September 22, 1891. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma,* p. 298.

15 *Democrat,* April 23, 1892.

16 McReynolds, *Oklahoma,* p. 299.

17 *Democrat,* March 12, 1892; June 4, 1892.

Such a friendly climate naturally led the *Democrat* to take pride in Oklahoma's agriculture. Since wheat was particularly profitable in the El Reno area, the city had some basis for its claim as one of the best wheat markets in Oklahoma. The paper estimated that fifteen to twenty wagon loads were brought in every day during the 1891 harvest. As the season came to an end, the *Democrat* reported that farmers were convinced that wheat was the best crop raised in the territory. Conditions were equally favorable the next year when the journal predicted that Canadian County farmers would thresh more than a million bushels of wheat and eight hundred thousand bushels of oats. [18]

Such was the attitude of the *El Reno Democrat.* Nearly every issue overflowed with optimism concerning the spirit of the area's population and the wealth of its natural resources. That the editor was sometimes unrealistic is more apparent from a vantage point of seventy years, but in this respect he was no different from many other newspapermen throughout the territory.

KINGFISHER FREE PRESS

Less than twenty-five miles north of El Reno, in the thriving town of Kingfisher, another newspaper was busy with its booster program. This was the *Kingfisher Free Press,* a well - edited journal founded by a former Kansas newspaperman, Jacob V. Admire. [19] In choosing Kingfisher as the home of his paper, Admire picked what became one of the leading towns of Oklahoma Territory. Early in 1889 the government built a land office on the site of the future town, and by 1890 Kingfisher had a population of 1,134. [20]

In gaining the Admire family, Kingfisher assured itself a team of capable boosters. When he combined two older papers into the *Free Press* in June, 1891, Jacob V. Admire merely transferred the name of his old Kansas paper to Oklahoma. Since his duties as receiver in the land office required most of his time, the older Admire entrusted the newspaper to his younger brother, James L. Admire, who proved to be a remarkable editor, outspoken in his opinions. This was evident in March, 1892, when he complained that a correspondent for the *Kansas City Times* could get a hundred dollars for boosting Kingfisher while the local papers "were supposed to keep up a boom for the town at all times and take their pay in wind pudding." Despite his occasional disenchantment, Admire stubbornly defended the role of the newspaper. "A man many blow and bluster on a

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[18] *Ibid.,* August 22, 1891; September 19, 1891; June 26, 1892.

[19] A brief account of the paper's history is found in *Kingfisher Panorama,* an anniversary booklet published by the *Free Press* in 1957.

[20] U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890. Population,* I, 283.

street corner and it is soon forgotten," he once wrote, but was convinced that "what a newspaper says lives always." Apparently his readers were satisfied with the *Free Press*, because on November 24, 1892, he could boast that his circulation numbered 1,488 — an increase of 700 in the past year. [21]

As a growing paper in a booming town, the *Free Press* exuded the public spirit that accompanies community development. Much of the material in the paper was pure booster propaganda, as the following examples indicate. In one issue, Admire observed that the town was full of horses, mules, and jackasses, but he quickly added: "We are glad to say that the latter are in the minority." On another occasion, after returning from a trip to Kansas, he remarked that the dullness of the towns he had seen had made his journey seem a month long. In comparison, Kingfisher was a "young Chicago." Frequently his boasts were mere statements, such as "A boss-town—Kingfisher." Several times he boldly (and usually without evidence) asserted that Kingfisher had more substantial improvement than any other town in the territory.

But the *Free Press* was also alert to the quality of Kingfisher's growth, and it did not hesitate in criticizing local business when necessary. Although Admire considered Kingfisher the "best business town of its inches in the United States," he admitted that it could use some new businessmen to replace many of the "fossils" who had drifted in. The paper also accused the Pabst brewery of trying to get water at public expense. Soon *Free Press* critics were charging that it was against new industry. The editor retorted that he merely wanted new businesses to operate on their own capital and not as "foreign" corporations. "If the people must be robbed for anybody's benefit," he wrote, "we prefer that the robber should be a citizen who would be obliged to divide his ill gotten gains with the rest of the community." Moreover, he believed it was no longer necessary to bribe people into settling in Kingfisher.

Bribery was one thing, but the clear exposition of economic fact was another matter, and the *Free Press* could freely indulge in this without violating its conscience. Admire soon returned to his role as publicist when he told his readers that Kingfisher would do more building in the future than any other town in Oklahoma. When construction on the new city water works began in December, 1892, the editor's faith seemed justified. The sight of two hundred busy workmen dispelled any doubt—Kingfisher *was* a busy town. Furthermore, her location in a rich agricultural country convinced Admire that the town was the natural market for a hundred miles around. Thus, he advised prospec-

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21 *Kingfisher Free Press*, September 15, 1892; March 31, 1892; September 8, 1892.

tive businessman: "If you are a merchant looking for a location, come to Kingfisher. The best business inducements are offered here of any town in Oklahoma."

In addition to its attractive commercial climate, Kingfisher could boast of other good points, such as the local school, which was staffed by competent teachers and attended by children "just as bright as any in the world." The town baseball team was another object of local pride. Once, after an 8-5 victory over Guthrie, the editor remarked that the Guthrie boys should have been cutting corn instead of playing ball. Later, after the town had found time for culture, the *Free Press* predicted that it would soon be unnecessary to import theatricals since home-grown talent was "a hundred per cent better than one half of the traveling companies." Lest the inhabitants become too complacent, however, the editor could always remind them of a few civic blights, such as the need for a cemetery and the stench of outhouses. [22]

Even with its occasional faults, Kingfisher remained largely a source of pride to the *Free Press*. Perhaps the most vivid expression of the paper's feelings appeared in a special 1892 year-end edition. In eloquent language, the paper declared Kingfisher "Without a Peer in the Race for Supremacy and in Leading Her Sister Cities in the March of Modern Progression and Enterprise." The writer compared the town's location to the beautiful "Teche Country" of the poem "Evangeline": "Where the flowers kissed the morning dew and the primeval forests echoed only with the noise of native warblers, stands a busy, active and prosperous city." He described the residents of Kingfisher in this manner: "Better and braver men than they who first planted the standards of commerce and industry in Kingfisher never congregated in a pioneer town or undertook the subjugations of a beautiful wilderness to human uses." With such a loquacious publicist, Kingfisher would have succeeded if it had been located in the "Great American Desert" instead of on the edge.

Indeed, it was necessary to combat such a desert image in the minds of some people, especially "foreign" newspapermen. After a group of touring writers visited the area, the *Free Press* warned its readers that it was about time for the papers back East to begin their tales of suffering and destitution in the new country. Admire reacted just as strongly to criticism at home, particularly that put out by a "knocker" in eastern Oklahoma. In a strong editorial entitled "The War on Western Oklahoma," the *Free Press* castigated the *Guthrie Capital* for frowning on the western part of the territory. Admire charged the *Capital* with trying to make people believe that Guthrie was the only

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[22] *Free Press*, December 1, 1892; August 18, 1892; March 22, 1894; June 16, 1892.

town in Oklahoma and that all other land was worthless. In refuting this, he said the testimony of settlers in western Oklahoma should convince others that the area was suitable for farming. Despite his responsibility to his immediate constituency, the editor took pride in the fact that he had never found it necessary to slander any other part of the territory. Rather, he chose to believe that "where prosperity and happiness are general there can be no poor towns or hungry people." [23]

Admire's stand had been substantiated by the position he took on the opening of the Cherokee Outlet, which he erroneously called the Cherokee Strip, and the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation. A year and a half before the Outlet was opened, he praised it as a body of magnificent farm land. He was even more enthusiastic about the other area, urging his readers to saddle their best racers in preparation "for the great free-for-all in the Cheyenne Rapee country." [24]

Devoted as he was to the general welfare of Oklahoma Territory, Admire naturally took more direct interest in his own Kingfisher County. When the assessor's report on population appeared in July, 1892, he estimated that the figure of 12,292 was at least five thousand short. Nevertheless, he could boast that "this makes a showing in three years that many a Kansas county has taken years to reach." [25] Later, Admire said he was convinced that Kingfisher County had passed the experimental stage. Varied crops had proved its adaptability, he wrote, and plentiful rain had shown that it was not a drought area. Given a proper education program, the new country would "soon teem with people and grow noisy with industry"—an incongruous outlook for an agrarian area that deplored the crowded conditions "back East."

Soon thereafter such a program was announced. In a display advertisement printed in June, 1894, Jacob V. Admire noted that he was beginning a promotional plan designed to spread the good news about Kingfisher County. Admire would distribute forms seeking information from farmers who had become successful since moving to the county. The data would then be printed in a special edition of the *Free Press* for circulation abroad. Despite meager response, the paper ran several biographical sketches, one of which featured Peter Warner, a 49-year-old Union army veteran who had settled near Hennessey in March, 1890. Although a poor man when he migrated from Milau, Kansas, Warner said he had been able to accumulate

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[23] *Free Press,* April 28, 1892; May 5, 1892.

[24] *Ibid.,* March 31, 1892.

[25] *Ibid.,* July 7, 1892. In another sense, perhaps the opening of Oklahoma partially explained why agriculturally-depressed Kansas was not growing. The Admires themselves had left the state.

considerable property, including a good house, stables, 47 acres of wheat, 15 acres of oats, 190 apple trees, and 300 peach trees. The land of opportunity had treated him well. [26]

Even before Jacob Admire decided to tell the world about Kingfisher County, the farmers of western Oklahoma were busily making a name for themselves. The 1892 wheat crop, for instance, had drawn editorial praise on several occasions. Early in May the editor noted that it was heading out well. As the harvest drew near, he described the fields as "a sight that would make an eastern man cry out with delight" and boasted that there was no better wheat land in the Union. A fading market, however, forced Admire to withdraw his earlier prediction of $1.50 wheat.

Regardless of the price of wheat, the *Free Press* was happy to print stories of bumper crops. Thomas F. Phillips, for example, boasted that his oat crop would make nearly sixty bushels an acre. His exuberance led him to proclaim Oklahoma the "best country on the face of the globe." When the first carload of 1892 wheat was shipped out, the editor was inspired to poetic language: "Tis ever thus that Oklahoma demonstrates her right to take precedence of less favored climes." Later, when Admire told his audience that Oklahoma papers never grew tired of "singing the songs of wonderful crops," he was merely repeating the unnecessary. One look at the *Free Press* would convince the reader that it believed in anything beneficial to Oklahoma and Kingfisher County.

WATONGA REPUBLICAN

In October, 1892, another newspaper was added to the growing list of territorial publications. This in itself was of little significance, since frontier newspapers came and went with a certain degree of regularity. But the *Watonga Republican* was different, and the territory soon learned that it had gained an extraordinary supporter in the person of Thompson B. Ferguson, editor and publisher

A native of Iowa, Ferguson moved to Kansas a few years after the Civil War. He attended the Kansas State Normal School at Emporia for a year before entering the Methodist ministry. After a short career as a preacher, Ferguson turned to teaching school and then to editing the Sedan (Kansas) *Republican*. He was married to Elva U. Shartel on June 9, 1885. [27]

Ferguson participated in the original run into Oklahoma in 1889 and later in the Sac and Fox opening, but he eventually

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[26] *Ibid.*, June 28, 1894.

[27] Clyde Richard King, "The T. B. Ferguson Family in Oklahoma Journalism" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Journalism School, University of Oklahoma, 1949), pp. 2-3.

sold out and returned to Kansas and the *Sedan Republican.* [28] The call of Oklahoma was too great, however, and he returned when the Cheyenne-Arapaho country opened in April, 1892—this time to stay. Little did the rural editor realize he would one day serve as governor of Oklahoma Territory at the request of President Theodore Roosevelt. Ferguson chose to settle in Watonga, twenty-five miles west of Kingfisher. The newspaper he established there bespoke the editor's politics, as did the county, named after James G. Blaine, a leading Republican.

From the beginning the *Republican* stood firmly for Oklahoma. In an editorial celebrating his paper's first birthday in October, 1893, Ferguson admitted that he had sometimes stretched the truth for the good of the community, but his conscience was clear enough for him to remark: "We are at the commencement of our second year as serene as a bull frog in a mill pond." He also noted that the paper's political enemies, who had predicted failure, were "gone where the woodbine twineth." [29] Successive issues reiterated the *Republican's* devotion to Oklahoma, Watonga, and Blaine County. Not even the loss of the county printing in early 1895 could dampen the paper's spirit.

Much of the *Republican's* editorial space in its early days was devoted to scathing denunciations of a rival paper, the *Watonga Rustler.* In the fall of 1893, the Republican offered this classic comment on the *Rustler's* editor: "The ignorant, egotistical, scrawny, miserable, contemptible, disgusting, measley, mangey, depraved, lying, hypocritical, blear-eyed, dough-faced, idiotic, dwarfed, pinched-up, squaking old numskul [sic] of the ex-Rustler ghost still continues to impose himself upon a people who are even more completely disgusted with him than were the Nebraska people who compelled him to make a premature and hasty exit." [30] When someone set fire to the *Republican* office in mid-February of 1894, Ferguson accused his rival of instigating the act.

Fortunately, the *Republican* more often turned its energy to constructive promotion of Watonga, the metropolis of Blaine County. Watonga's citizens, whose confidence in their town made success inevitable, were the basis of the paper's faith. The town's commercial potential also encouraged such trust. In November, 1893, the editor observed that the surrounding community was learning to take advantage of the large stock of goods that Watonga merchants sold at moderate prices. For the skeptical, the paper had this bit of prophecy: "Those people who have sneered at Watonga, will some day behold her the great city of central Oklahoma."

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28 *Ibid.*

29 *Watonga Republican,* October 4, 1893.

30 *Republican,* November 29, 1893.

Like many Oklahoma cities (and hundreds of other western towns), Watonga considered the attainment of a railroad a sure route to success. In September, 1893, the *Republican* predicted the city would have a railroad within a year. Early in 1894, Ferguson outlined a plan calling for a railway running southwest from Arkansas City, Kansas, which he estimated would increase the value of property fourfold and "in every way enhance the general interests." A few weeks later he reported that the project was paying off in publicity because papers along the proposed line were mentioning Watonga favorably.

Despite the commercial advantages of Watonga, Ferguson did not overlook her shortcomings—trivial as they were. One of the most serious deficiencies was in the field of shoe repair. Sounding more like a preacher than a newspaperman, he expressed concern for the hundreds of shoes whose soles were "lost forever" and pleaded for a shoe missionary to "occupy the field and commence the work of redemption at once." An equally distressing cry was raised the next spring as the baseball season approached. Ferguson implored his fellow townsmen to organize a team because "a town without a baseball club is never in it." In the same vein, the *Republican* urged the town to form a brass band—"an indispensable institution in every well regulated town." [31]

The *Republican* showed even deeper interest in Blaine County. Following a pattern already observed in the other newspapers, the *Republican* printed a great deal of booster material based on nothing but the writer's imagination. For instance, Ferguson once described the county as a paradise on earth where thousands of silver dollars shone in every mud puddle. He also insisted that the "green pastures" and "still waters" mentioned by the poet David referred to Blaine County. For those interested in agricultural prowess, the *Republican* bragged of "corn bigger than sawlogs and watermelons bigger than whales." During a visit to Kansas in 1893, when he had a chance to reflect upon Oklahoma, the "senior" editor wrote home that the stony hills of Kansas made him pine in classical imagination for the Elysian fields of Blaine County. His replacement, probably Mrs. Ferguson, added: "It is indeed the land of the fair god." [32]

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[31] *Republican,* September 27, 1893; March 28, 1894; February 13, 1895. Watonga eventually got its shoe repairman. An advertisement in the December 19, 1894, issue guaranteed the work of W. J. Skidmore, a shoemaker.

[32] *Republican,* July 19, 1893; August 9, 1893; August 16, 1893. Mrs. Ferguson frequently edited the paper when her husband was away from home. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936.), p. 421.

The advantages of Blaine County, however, were not entirely confined to Ferguson's fertile mind. He could also furnish hard facts about local assets. The county's location alone would attract thousands of new citizens, he believed, especially when they learned that its residents escaped the attacks of fever and ague that plagued other areas. It was also clear to Ferguson that Blaine County was one of the richest places in Oklahoma in natural resources. Although best suited to stock raising, the land was adaptable to wheat, cotton, and fruit. In addition, he considered its cement beds "as good as silver mines." Certainly, he argued, Blaine County was superior to most of the Cherokee "Strip." [33]

Even more important than physical attractions, however, was the quality of the people who settled there. In August, 1893, the *Republican* proudly reported that a good class of settlers was rapidly populating the county. Consequently, the editor could compliment the county's delegation to a statehood convention by boasting that her boys never failed to make a favorable impression. As the hard times of the 1890's hit the new country, the *Republican* became even more convinced that the "staying" qualities of Blaine countians would eventually bring them success. [34]

Many of the *Republican's* comments applied to the entire territory. For example, the editor once described her citizens in this manner: [35]

> The people who have succeeded and who will succeed in Oklahoma are the men and women of brains, energy and iron wills. People who come here expecting to pick money off of the bushes had better stay away. It is no place for lazy people. To all those who are willing to work and are not easily discouraged, we would say that golden opportunities are afforded in this "wonderland" to build up good homes and achieve success. Drones are not wanted in Oklahoma.

Naturally, the scorn of older states irritated the *Republican;* therefore, when a plague of grasshoppers threatened New York and Pennsylvania, the editor was led to remark: "It may take a few years of pestilence and calamity to teach 'them eastern fellers' to regard this western country in the proper manner that she deserves." In answer to those persons who complained of losing their religion in Oklahoma, he had a similarly pertinent reply: "It seems that any one who run the Devil's gauntlet in Kansas or Missouri should get along all right in progressive Oklahoma."

Although the weather at times may have caused the editor to think he was living in hell, he still boasted that the Cheyenne-Arapaho country could stand drought as well as any place. The secret, he explained, lay in working the moisture to the surface.

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33 *Republican,* July 26, 1893; December 19, 1894; July 19, 1893.
34 *Ibid.,* August 23, 1893; September 6, 1893; September 27, 1893.
35 *Ibid.,* August 30, 1893.

One summer he rejoiced that plentiful rains had made the County much more verdant than neighboring Kingfisher County. By August he was boasting that a proven soil and ample rains had completely removed the area from the experimental stage.

As winter approached, the editor warned those who might have been misled by the pleasant autumn climate by forecasting a cold spell that would make the newcomers "believe that hades is in a process of congealment." A sudden change in the weather proved him correct, but even the writer was surprised at the extent of the "arctic" winter that had descended upon Oklahoma. When nice weather returned the next week, he was moved to comment: [36]

> Monday afternoon last was one of the most beautifully beautiful winter gala day dress parades ever experienced by mortals on this mundane shore. It was a day of rapturous, ethereal loveliness. The golden sunlight streamed upon the earth in a floodtide of transcendent glory. A balmy mellowness was in the air. Light zephyrs like the airy undulations of sweet softness that fan the sylvan bowers of fairyland, gently but voluptuously kissed the earth, . . . Our people were numerously out driving, and our little city gayly assumed metropolitan airs.

Such a wonderland could not fail to bring forth superior crops. In fact, the *Republican* considered Blaine County one of the best agricultural areas in the United States. The wheat crops of 1893 provided proof of this when the newspaper reported that a Judge Martin got thirty bushels to the acre on poorly prepared ground. A few weeks later, the editor urged farmers to plant as much wheat as possible because Blaine County was the "greatest wheat country in the world." To those who had "howled about the C and A country being too dry," he issued an invitation for them to visit the area and see its bounteous crops with their own eyes.

As an alternative to a personal visit, any interested person could have achieved almost the same effect by browsing through an issue of the *Watonga Republican*. The editor often urged his readers to pass the little paper along to prospective settlers. Indeed, there was no better place to look for a colorful account of the blessings to be found in the "land of the fair god."

ARAPAHOE ARROW and *ARAPAHOE BEE*

As the settlement of Oklahoma moved farther west, newspapers found it more difficult to attract settlers because of the isolation and dry climatic conditions. This proved to be no great hardship to the region's pioneer editors, however. It merely forced them to work harder selling their towns and counties. The files of the *Arapahoe Arrow* and *Arapahoe Bee*, two early

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36 *Ibid.*, December 13, 1893.

papers published in County G of the Cheyenne-Arapaho country, provide good examples of the spirit shown by western Oklahomans. [37]

The town of Arapahoe was founded on April 19, 1892, when the vast reservation was opened to white settlement. Ten days later the *Arrow* made its appearance under the editorship of Frank Fillmore and William Seaman. Fillmore, a native of Ohio, became the leading figure in the affairs of the short-lived *Arrow* and its successor, the *Bee*. Two of his friends, both early commissioners of County G, promised him the official county printing if he would move his newspaper from Frisco in Canadian County—an offer which Fillmore accepted soon after the town was established. The first issue of the *Arrow* described it as the "first newspaper printed in Oklahoma west of the Rock Island Railroad." [38]

The *Arrow* spared no time in stating its purposes. The first issue carried an editorial entitled "Salutatory," in which the editors promised to produce a newspaper devoted to the upbuilding of Arapaho and County G. "Rally to our support," the owners urged, "and you will not regret it." A few weeks later the *Arrow* revealed a plan to bring new residents to the area by printing extra copies for distribution "abroad." The editors frequently exhorted their readers to send the paper to friends and relatives or to provide the *Arrow* with the names of such persons. "That is what we are here for," they concluded. [39]

Poor health soon forced Fillmore to move to El Reno for medical care, thus leaving the paper in the hands of his partner. When he returned to Arapahoe in the fall of 1892, Fillmore learned that Seaman had turned the *Arrow* over to the mortgage-holder. The legal action that followed ultimately resulted in Fillmore's establishment of the *Arapahoe Bee*. This time he took for his partner Jesse W. Lawton, a former Indiana school teacher. [40]

First published on December 31, 1892, the *Bee* later proclaimed that its sole aim was "to give G County the best weekly paper in Oklahoma." Following the course laid out for the *Arrow*, Fillmore and Lawton instructed their subscribers to send the *Bee* to anyone looking for a new home. Later, in answer to an inquiry concerning the number of subscribers abroad, the owners happily announced that 132 copies were sent out of G County each week.

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37 County G later became Custer County. Since both papers were begun by the same person, they are treated as one paper. Both used the old spelling of "Arapahoe."

38 Foreman, *OP. Cit.*, p. 267.

39 *Arapahoe Arrow*, April 29, 1892; May 13, 1892.

40 Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 268; *Arapahoe Bee*, May 11, 1893.

The promotional material that appeared in both the *Arrow* and the *Bee* resembled that found in the newspapers discussed earlier. It portrayed the inhabitants of Arapahoe as men of brains, capital, energy, and business ability—in short, the kind of people needed to "build up a new town." Its citizens were so outstanding that the sheriff found it difficult to make a living. Like its sister cities to the east, Arapahoe was one of the healthiest towns in the territory, free from malaria and other troublesome sicknesses. Unlike many western towns, however, there was no fear of a poor water supply in Arapahoe since well diggers had already struck a "stream of pure, cold water, delicious to the taste and plentiful in supply." [41] By viewing Arapahoe through such rosy glasses, the editors could filter out the dust and the scorching rays of the western sun.

The *Bee* was also an active booster. When the Congregational Education Society announced its plans to build a college at Arapahoe, the *Bee* greeted the news with excitement and immediately proposed the construction of a brick factory to furnish materials for the school and several proposed public buildings. The following message was addressed to brick makers: [42]

> Don't you know that we have the finest brick soil on earth; that Arapahoe is growing like Jonah's gourd; that we will soon have to build a City Building and County Court House; that brick could be sold here to-day if you had sand enough in your craw to come here and make them?
>
> Didn't know it, eh!
>
> Well, it's a fact; and you had better get a double-decked hustle on yourself if you want the first slices of the puddin!

Despite its high pitch in the spring, the *Bee's* enthusiasm lagged during the summer of 1893 until the editor lamented that the city's growth was not keeping up with the county. This was evident, he noted, in the steady string of teams pulling out of Arapahoe. He felt that part of Arapahoe's trouble could be attributed to the town's rivalry with El Reno. Recalling an editorial that appeared in the *Arrow* in June, 1892, the editor accused El Reno of trying to get the land office that Arapahoe wanted. In her efforts to acquire the important office, the *Bee* charged, El Reno had actually discouraged settlers from moving to the Cheyenne-Arapaho country. The *Bee* cited the testimony of "hundreds" of persons who had witnessed such "outrageous lies and devilish devices." Nevertheless, the paper later reported that things were picking up again and that Arapahoe and the entire county were "moving ahead in the most gratifying manner."

Even though Arapahoe had its slow periods, both the *Arrow* and the *Bee* never seemed to detect any lethargy in the growth

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[41] *Arapahoe Arrow,* April 29, 1892; May 6, 1892.

[42] *Bee,* April 27, 1892.

of County G. From the beginning they proclaimed it the best of the six newly-opened counties. Favorable both for stock raising and farming, G County offered the best water supply and a dark, sandy loam ideally suited for growing wheat. Thus, the *Arrow* stated in its first issue: "If you want to settle in one of the most prosperous counties in the territory; if you want one of the best claims in Oklahoma; if you want to get the best at little lost; if you want timber and water in abundance; if you want an ideal home in a law-abiding community, come to County G." A year later, the county's rapid growth in population led the *Bee* to boast: "Evidences of our rapid development are seen on every hand, and if you don't think G County is in the swim just come down and look at us." [43]

But in spite of their efforts to portray the bright points of County G and western Oklahoma, the editors still found it necessary to counteract the unfavorable propaganda that some newspapers circulated. For example, the *Guthrie News* quoted a deputy marshal Hutchinson who said that the Indians in the western part of the territory were indulging in the ghost dance, thereby endangering the settlers in the area. Indignantly, the *Arrow* replied that the ghost dance was merely a part of their religion and as such was quite harmless. Perhaps it was such erroneous material that prompted J. W. Clevinger, the county judge, to print ten thousand promotional circulars for distribution elsewhere.

In a similar effort, the *Bee* announced its own plan to print a special double-edition of about five hundred copies for Lawton to distribute on his way to the Worlds Fair in Chicago. Optimistically, the paper predicted that it would be the best advertising the county had ever received.

Two particularly impressive comments concerning the people of western Oklahoma appeared in May, 1893. In one the editor described the security of a dugout: "Adversity has its compensation at times. In the case of the western settlers who found lumber too expensive a luxury, their dugouts are safe retreats in these days of warring elements and afford a sense of security that a mansion can not give." The other editorial dealt with the admirable way in which the settlers had brought their religion with them: "Instead of passing beyond the bounds of enlightenment, we find that a noble host of God-fearing men and women have carried all the ennobling elements of the Christian religion with them into this new land and the seeds of that glorious kingdom are growing here in all its luxuriant beauty." [44]

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[43] *Arrow,* April 29, 1892; May 18, 1893.

[44] *Bee,* May 4, 1893; May 11, 1893.

Truly, the citizens of County G had a great deal for which to be thankful. Instead of finding the drought-stricken conditions that others had warned about, they had experienced "gully-washing" rains worth their weight in gold. Later, the editor compared his country's crop conditions with those of burning Kansas and Texas and concluded that there was "no earthly reason for a moment's doubt of the fact that we have a safe climate for agriculture," especially since the soil was "fertility itself."

When the weather bureau issued its report on crops in 1893, the *Bee* reported that western Oklahoma had surpassed the eastern part of the territory. After a five-inch rain in August, the paper boasted of Kafir corn and milo maize "too big and rank to talk about" and watermelons, pumpkins, and squashes as "big and as plentiful as rocks on . . . the average New England farm." But the most vivid treatment of agricultural products appeared in mid October when the editor told of specific objects displayed by local citizens. Among them were four of his own melons, which he modestly described in the following manner: "Ye editor exhibited four pie melons averaging 48½ pounds taken from one vine grown on a lot in Arapahoe. This vine (a volunteer) received no cultivation or manuring and bore 92 melons averaging 25 pounds each—an aggregate yield of 2,300 pounds." [45] No wonder County G was destined to be the banner county of the entire west!

CONCLUSION

Only in the "land of the fair god" could such a wondrous watermelon vine exist. Similarly, for dusty towns such as El Reno and Kingfisher to consider themselves "queen cities" and "young Chicagos" would also require the assistance of a divine being—not to mention the silverlined mud puddles of Blaine County. But it would be unfair to brand as liars the editors who made such boasts. Rather, it would be more correct to describe their boasting as exaggeration, for they were guilty of overstating the truth. The fact that such boasting appears even more ridiculous from a perspective of seventy years must also be considered.

Although they were undoubtedly aware that many of their comments were too fantastic to believe, the editors were sincere in their work. To sing the praises of a new country week after week, often with little hope of financial return, would require a heart-felt belief in the future of that country. Thus, they could look beyond the hot summer winds to the refreshing rains that were sure to come. If they sometimes revealed inferiority complexes when comparing their raw home land to the civilization of other areas, then this was only a human failure.

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[45] *Ibid.*, October 19, 1893.

Despite their emotional involvement, the early boosters were successful in publicizing the area. Through their efforts, prospective settlers learned of Oklahoma Territory, either through the papers that acquaintances and relatives sent them, or through the exchange items that appeared in their own newspapers. It is impossible, however, to ascertain just how much influence the journalists wielded. But one thing is certain: The new country grew rapidly. Census figures show that the population of both Canadian and Kingfisher counties increased more than 120 per cent from 1890 to 1900.[46] Similar gains occurred in the western counties.

But perhaps the greatest legacy of the boosters is their commentary on a period now passed. Through the files of these newspapers, modern Americans can experience in a small way the hardships and joys that early Oklahomans met in settling the "land of the fair god."

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[46] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population,* I, Part I, li.

THE DEMISE OF POPULISM IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Terry Paul Wilson**

Out of the bitterness and despair of national depression in the 1890's grew the last great protest movement by the American farmers. At St. Louis, Missouri, in 1892 representatives of farmer and labor groups joined in forming a new political entity, the People's or Populist Party. A multitude of reform causes found shelter under the party banner—including government ownership of railroads, a graduated income tax, the direct election of senators, wider use of the initiative and referendum, and a variety of inflationary currency schemes. [1] Despite this cumbersome platform, the ill-organized and financially poor People's Party scored credibly in the 1892 election, becoming the first third party to win any electorial votes since the Civil War. Most of the successes, however, were the result of political fusion with either Republicans or Democrats in states where the two were evenly matched. [2]

Adherents of the new party quickly realized that drastic measures were required for a victory in the presidential race of 1896. During the next four years every conceivable alignment of pressure groups and parties was tried in an attempt to discover a winning combination. Nowhere was their more true than in Oklahoma Territory. There a complex political situation had developed soon after the territorial government was legally formed in 1890. The Populist stronghold of Kansas contributed many settlers to the new territory, as did strongly Democratic Arkansas and Texas, and Republican Illinois. Naturally these heterogeneous backgrounds spawned an equally heterogeneous political matrix. In the southern part of the territory Populist and Republican minorities cooperated against the Democrats while in the north, where the Republicans held sway, the People's Party kept an uneasy alliance with the Democracy. The 1892 election showed the Republicans holding an easy majority over the second running Democrats, yet only two years later Ralph Beaumont, the Populist candidate for congressional delegate, outdistanced his Democratic opponent and pushed the Republi-

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* Terry Paul Wilson prepared this paper on the demise of the Populist Party in Oklahoma Territory for a graduate seminar class in American history under Dr. Donald J. Berthrong, the University of Oklahoma (1965).—Ed.

[1] Thomas Hudson McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789-1905* (Baltimore, 1906), pp. 305-10.

[2] John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party* (Minneapolis, 1931), pp. 263-67.

can winner hard.[3] This gain excited the People's Party in Oklahoma and they eagerly awaited developments on the national scene in hopes that 1896 would see their reform aspirations materialize.

During the campaign of 1892, the Populists had learned that their silver plank had the widest appeal. This particular tenet purported that the free and unlimited coinage of silver was a practical means of expanding the monetary supply and raising the declining prices of farm products. Increasingly in the late 1880's and into the 1890's, debt-plagued farmers viewed free silver as a panacea for all their ills. In 1892 the Populists in the West had stressed this issue, and with the aid of silver producers succeeded in carrying the mountain states on the strength of free silver alone.[4] When two years later they gave up fusion with the silver wings of the major parties to promote an independent ticket and lost, even the diehard "middle-of-the-road" Populists were ready to concede the appeal of free silver.[5] Books, pamphlets, broadsides, orations, and conventions helped boom the cause of "soft money" and currency inflation during the next two years.

As the time for party conventions approached, the Populists evolved a shrewd scheme for stealing the election from the major parties. The Republicans could be relied upon to stick by the gold standard while the Democratic convention might very well be dominated by the Cleveland administration wing which also favored gold. Thus the Populists had only to schedule their convention late, come out for free silver, and coast to victory by attracting the silver dissidents of the major parties. This strategy seemed sound as the Republicans met in St. Louis and nominated William McKinley to run on a sound money platform. At the Democratic convention, however, the silverites triumphed and nominated young William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, champion orator of free silver, for the presidency.[6]

This development placed the People's Party squarely at the crossroad of decision. If the Populists nominated Bryan, also, and fused with the Democrats, they stood good chances of sweeping the Republican candidates out of office at every level. However, this entailed the danger of losing their other reform objectives and perhaps their very party autonomy and identity. The reverse side of the coin featured an almost sure defeat; if they failed to nominate Bryan, many of their supporters were sure to enter the Democratic fold, and likely not return.

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[3] Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards (comps.), *The Oklahoma Red Book* (Oklahoma City, 1913), p. 305.

[4] Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 268.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 333-34.

[6] McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, pp. 290-300.

Neither choice lacked violent harangues in their defense at the party convention, but the practical considerations of possible victory dictated the nomination of Bryan. Unable to accept his Democratic running mate, Arthur Sewall, an eastern banker from Maine, the middle-of-the-road Populists successfully insisted upon Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for the vice-presidency. They also pushed through the adoption of the 1892 platform, replete with its curious hodgepodge of reform measures. Probably the truest indication of the majority of the Populist representatives' views was expressed in the closing words of the platform which termed free silver "the great and pressing issue in this campaign" and invited "the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question." [7]

The ensuing election campaign of 1896 ranks among the most important in America's political history. Certainly it remains one of the more exciting contests featuring a confusing array of party factions and issues. Despite the obvious ascendency of the silver question, there were other important issues, local and national, affecting the outcome of the voting. A closer look at Oklahoma Territory's part in the events of 1896 should enable the observer to better understand the complexities involved on a more easily digestible microcosmic scale. The campaign in the territory contained all the ingredients of the national contest plus some of those added twists which make generalizations about politics tenuous.

Politics in Oklahoma Territory up to 1896 revolved around the issues of statehood and the free homes. The former can be dismissed as far as the 1896 campaign is concerned, for all parties favored immediate statehood. They also agreed upon the need for free homesteads on Oklahoma's public lands so that this question turned on the records of the parties in obtaining results. And, since only one person, Oklahoma's single non-voting delegate to Congress, could effectively aid the passage of favorable legislation, interest settled on Dennis T. Flynn, twice elected Republican delegate. Flynn had won in 1892 and 1894 by comfortable margins, each time campaigning on the free homes issue. He introduced two bills in 1895 and 1896 calling for free homes, but neither was ever reported out of committee. [8] The Republican Convention in Oklahoma Territory unanimously chose "Flynn and Free Homes" as their standard and counted heavily on the large Negro vote in the eastern part of the state to provide them with a majority. [9]

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[7] Hicks, *The Populist Revolt,* pp. 360-67.

[8] See Vernon S. Braswell, "The Oklahoma Free Homes Bill (1892-1900)," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1965.

[9] *McMaster's Territorial Weekly,* October 9, 1895; June 27, 1896.

Oklahoma Populists viewed the outcome of the national convention of their party with glee. One enthusiastic newspaper editor estimated that fully nine-tenths of the territorial population favored Bryan.[10] Rather than follow the Democratic lead, as the national organization had, the territorial committee scheduled the People's Party Convention for August 4 in the Opera House at Guthrie, the territorial capital. Around 250 delegates appeared, a majority of whom bore the marks of farming and old age. Indeed, one observer noted that fewer than twenty were under thirty-five years.[11] After twenty-six ballots, the convention picked James Yancy Callahan as their candidate for congressional delegate. The platform echoed the national party's with the exception that it was shorter and more exclusively occupied with free silver.[12]

Callahan's background became an important issue both in the general election campaign and the Democratic nominating convention. Migrating from his Missouri birthplace to Stanton County, Kansas in 1885, Callahan entered politics to the extent of serving two terms as registrar of deeds. When he moved to a farm near Kingfisher, Oklahoma Territory in 1892, Callahan also left the Republican Party for the Populist organization. From his farm he journeyed to a Methodist church each week to act as pastor and also served on the local school board.[13] His duties in this latter capacity came into focus at the Democratic convention held at El Reno, Oklahoma in early September.

Faced with the unpleasant prospect of again running a poor third to the Populists and knowing that without help they could not hope to defeat Flynn, the Democrats decided to fuse on Callahan and free silver. However, the move was not accomplished without several rancorous sessions at the El Reno Opera House. When Callahan was introduced and entered as a convention possibility, several diehard party men leaped to their feet booing and hissing their objection to fusion. Questions were called from the floor demanding to know if Callahan professed the principles of the Prohibitionist Party. The Methodist preacher sidestepped that one by suggesting that he did not believe that prohibition should be a political matter, but a choice for one's private life. More seriously, one delegate wanted to know whether Callahan had, while on the Kingfisher school board, voted in favor of mixed schools for Negro and white. No glib answer would suffice for this query, as the convention contained enough staunchly southern men, who would not abide integration, to

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10 *Newkirk Populist,* July 30, 1896.

11 *Noble County Patriot,* August 20, 1896.

12 *The Tecumseh Leader,* August 7, 1896.

13 Joseph Bradfield Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. II; p. 576.

reject Callahan's nomination. In answer to this charge of racial intermingling, the Populist candidate stated that he had voted in favor of schooling both races, but that he preferred that this be accomplished on a separate but equal basis. [14] This satisfied the delegates, but charges that Callahan favored mixed schools continued to be circulated by the opposition press throughout the campaign. [15]

The national campaign grew more confused as election time approached with a choice of platforms of the Bryan Democrats, National or Gold Democrats, Republicans, Silver Republicans, Populists, and Silver Party. In Oklahoma the regular three party race was complicated by the partial fusion of Democrats and Populists. Not all of the newspapers and county organizations accepted the decision of the territorial conventions. Noble County Democrats utterly refused to run jointly with the Populists on what the Noble *Sentinel* termed "that mongrel ticket." [16] For their part many Populists shunned the fusion which one partisan editor disdained to mention through the entire campaign. [17] About half the county affiliates of both parties voted to fuse local tickets while none failed to support Callahan, if only half-heartedly.

As was usual, most attention was directed toward the race for the congressional delegate's seat. Both Flynn and Callahan staged traditional stump campaigns. Realizing that most Oklahomans, whatever their party allegiance, favored free silver, Flynn dutifully recorded his attachment to the gold standard at the beginning of the race and then tried to ignore it. Everywhere he spoke in glowing terms of free homes and the prosperity which would follow the election of business-minded William McKinley. Undeniably Flynn had established himself as the champion of the Free Homes Bill in Washington and had ably represented his constituency there. Through the labors of Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed, Flynn's campaign manager successfully solicited letters from Republican congressmen extolling Flynn's political virtues. [18] Armed with these endorsements and the knowledge that the Free Homes Bill then before

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[14] *The El Reno Democrat,* September 10, 1896; September 17, 1896; *The Daily Oklahoma State Capital,* September 4, 1896; September 5, 1896.

[15] *The Norman Transcript,* September 4, 1896; October 2, 1896; *Newkirk and Kay County Republican,* September 23, 1896; *The Daily Oklahoma State Capital,* September 8, 1896.

[16] *Noble County Sentinel,* September 17, 1896.

[17] *The Chandler Publicist* made no mention of fusion except to condemn the national Populist organization for straying from the party's original principles. October 23, 1896.

[18] *The Norman Transcript,* October 23, 1896.

the House was likely to pass (although it ultimately failed) Flynn confidently issued repeated challenges to Callahan to debate the question. [19]

The "Popocrat" or "Demopop" candidate replied that he was eager to debate—but not on free homes. Callahan clung to the "free and unlimited coinage of silver" as if to a life preserver. His constant reply to Republican jibes that he was afraid to meet Flynn was that only on free silver would he debate, since it was the "paramount issue." [20] Thus for the remainder of the campaign, both candidates jabbed somewhat ineffectually at each other, one never consenting to argue the fine points of the other's pet program. Flynn lost valuable ground here, for both the territorial and national platforms of Populists and Democrats contained free homes planks, giving Callahan room to promise his devotion to the cause if elected. [21] Unfortunately for the Republicans, Flynn was stuck with the "Gold Bug" label endured by all loyal members of their party. His opponent brought all his not inconsiderable oratorical powers to bear on the silver plank, nailing Flynn to it at every opportunity.

As a standard bearer of the People's Party, Reverend Callahan proved a worthy, though lesser platform companion for William Jennings Bryan. Emulating the Great Commoner, who Richard Hofstadter characterized as a "circuit-riding evangelist in politics," [22] Callahan injected a religious fervor into the campaign. His speeches were studded with Biblical references and one can easily imagine their effect on his frontier audiences reared in the atmosphere of the camp meeting. Even his Republican opponents admitted the power of the Methodist minister's oratory. [23] The Populist newspapers carried through the theme of semi-religious politics. At least once during the campaign each newspaper ran the political cartoon picturing Uncle Sam's brow pressed by a crown of thorns and bearing the admonition, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Righteous indignation was not lacking either. The editor of the *Noble County Patriot* invariably called attention to the drunkenness prevalent among Gold Bugs and on one occasion vilified the Republican candidate as "that besotted moral leper, Dennis Flynn." [24]

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19 *Ibid.*, October 30, 1896.

20 *McMaster's Territorial Weekly,* August 22, 1896.

21 McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms,* p. 296, 309; *The Chandler Publicist,* October 23, 1896; *Blackburn Globe,* September 11, 1896.

22 Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), p. 186.

23 *Noble County Patriot,* September 19, 1896.

24 *Ibid.*, October 8, 1896.

Both Flynn and Callahan benefitted from the activities of extra-party organizations. *The Norman Transcript* boasted that every school district in Oklahoma Territory held a Dennis T. Flynn Free Homes Club. These rallied support for Flynn, but could not compete in spirit or numbers with the Bryan Free Silver Clubs which enlisted members of all three parties. In several counties and townships the clubs were expanded into regular party factions nominating independent free silver tickets.[25] On election day in El Reno, Edmond, and Ponca City among others, the ballots presented the choices of the Republican Eagle, the Democratic Rooster, the Populist Beehive, and the Free Silver Cross and Crown.[26]

Having captured all but one of the major parties, the free silver men presented a variety of arguments supporting their crusade. Small town editors suddenly became financial experts, qualified to educate their readers on the intricacies of bimetallism. They purported to see a definite relation between falling farm prices and the rise of the gold standard. The Populist sheets emphasized the class struggle between the wealthy eastern monometallists and the poor western free silverites. A list of Republican multi-millionaires was printed, supposedly Mark Hanna's private checklist of campaign fund contributors. Democratic editors pointed to the fact of Great Britain's gold standard and concluded that this was still another evidence of collusion between that country and the Republican Party.[27]

Heated denunciations of these charges and attempts to uphold the gold standard by Republican editors seemed to lack the emotional appeal of free silver. They were more successful with other "issues." Callahan was accused not only of favoring racially mixed schools, but of "forswearing his religion" at the Democratic convention by equivocating on political Prohibition.[28] *The Norman Transcript* reported hearing "vulgar and bewhiskered anecdotes" at a Populist rally in Cleveland County which caused several of the ladies present to leave. More legitimate ridicule was heaped on Callahan concerning his fusion ticket. He and other "Confusionists" were derided for their refusal to run on local issues and their inability to bridge the gap between party platforms. When asked by one heckler whether he favored Tom Watson, the Populist vice-presidential candidate, or Arthur Sewall, the Democratic choice, Callahan rather ambiguously replied that he was for both of them, offering no further

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25 *Blackburn Globe,* August 7, 1896.

26 *The El Reno Democrat,* October 15, 1896; *Ponca City Democrat,* October 29, 1896; *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* October 9, 1896.

27 *Noble County Patriot,* August 28, 1896; *The El Reno Democrat,* October 15, 1896.

28 *McMaster's Territorial Weekly,* October 24, 1896.

explanation. [29] Weak answers such as these prompted one editor to question rhetorically why Callahan was like the Platte River and answer that both were "a thousand miles long but no where more than six inches deep." [30]

Surprisingly the memories of Civil War and Reconstruction still lingered in Oklahoma Territory in 1896. Some enterprising Republican wrote to the commanding officer of Callahan's father's company during the war and professed to find evidence of an undistinguished service record. He also accused Callahan of trying to appeal to veterans of both North and South since the latter publically mentioned that his father-in-law fought on the Confederate side and his father for the Union. An Oklahoma City sheet made a practice of printing weekly condemnations of Callahan on the basis that the Methodist minister was "toadying to the former slave-owning Democrats." [31] The Free Silver Clubs, however, were responsible for the most dramatic appeal to old loyalties when they headlined the news that Republican ex-President Ulysses S. Grant's son, Jesse Brant, had endorsed Bryan and free silver. [32]

Flynn's followers viewed election day in Oklahoma Territory with much trepidation, as their man needed more than 8,000 votes to defeat the combined Democratic and Populist vote of 1892. [33] Early reports indicated that the Irishman had done just that, as Blaine, Logan, and Garfield Counties turned in comfortable majorities for the Republican Party. Later returns shortened his lead and for two days the contest wavered with neither candidate posting a substantial lead. Finally on November 6, Callahan was declared the winner even though the state's largest newspaper, *The Daily Oklahoma State Capital,* charged the Populist newspapers with printing faked figures and Pottawatomie and Garfield County election officials with fraud. [34] Callahan's majority numbered only 1,168 votes of a total 53,702 cast. [35] Considering the deficit at the beginning of the race, Flynn's showing was remarkable.

The fusionist ticket won all across the board in the territory. Of twenty-six contested seats in the House of Representatives, the Republicans won three, the Democrats two, and the Populists one. All the remaining were filled with free silver men. Fusionists elected every member of the Territorial Council as

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29 *The Daily Times-Journal,* July 30, 1896.

30 *The Norman Transcript,* October 30, 1896.

31 *The Daily Times-Journal,* August 8, 1896.

32 *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* October 23, 1896.

33 Corden and Richards, *The Oklahoma Red Book,* p. 305.

34 *The Daily Oklahoma State Capital,* November 4, 1896.

35 Corden and Richards, *The Oklahoma Red Book,* p. 305.

well.[36] On the county level the results were not so lopsided. In Payne, Lincoln, Canadian, Kay, Noble, Greer, Wood, Pottawatomie, and Pawnee Counties the fusionists swept every office. Equally impressive victories, however, were scored by the Republicans in Logan, Garfield, Oklahoma, and Blaine Counties. The Democrats divided control of the other ten counties with the Populists.[37]

Nationally the free silver crusade fell short of its goal of placing Bryan in the White House. In several states and Oklahoma Territory, locally victorious fusionists found themselves in a peculiar situation. Unable to effectively fight for free silver, many met only frustration akin to that felt by James Y. Callahan after two fruitless years in Washington. An additional complaint was levelled by anti-fusionist elements in the People's Party. In 1896 they learned the full truth of Henry Demarest Lloyd's warning: "Free silver is the cow-bird of the reform movement. It waited until the nest had been built by the sacrifices and labour of others, and then it laid its eggs in it, pushing out the others which lie smashed on the ground."[38]

The Populists had given up their basic reform causes for the single panacea of free silver. The reasons for this espousal of the Bryan crusade have already been indicated: hunger for victory, the realization that refusal might well bring mass desertion to the Democrats, and the penchant of the Populist leaders for pseudo-religious causes. These considerations pushed logic aside, for Populist speeches to the contrary Oklahomans had more to gain from free homes than free silver. Despite the governor's report which pictured a booming economy, the territory needed the passage of Flynn's Free Homes Bill before their homestead payments came due.[39] Free silver would have been of little or no value except possibly in the extreme long range view.[40]

Fusion with the Democrats weakened party ties and led many former Democrats back into the old party fold. One Populist editor prophetically asserted that "Populism as a living force or entity and as a political organization in this territory is dead."[41] His suggestion that a straight Free Silver Party be formed to attract dissident elements of all parties was fol-

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36 *The Tecumseh Leader,* November 20, 1896.

37 *The Chandler Publicist,* November 6, 1896; *The El Reno Democrat,* November 12, 1896; *Blackburn Globe,* November 6, 1896.

38 As quoted in Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition,* p. 189.

39 *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior, 1896* (Washington, 1896), pp. 3-6.

40 *McMaster's Territorial Weekly,* October 9, 1896.

41 *Noble County Patriot,* November 26, 1896.

lowed in the 1898 election. In July of that year Populists, Democrats, and Free Silver Republicans met their conventions jointly to nominate territorial Judge, James R. Keaton as delegate to congress. [42] This time the Democrats succeeded in placing their man on the joint reform ticket with the result that some of the Populists bolted to attend a middle-of-the-road People's Party convention held in August. There a small group of 150 delegates nominated an obscure party wheelhorse, Arthur S. Hankins. [43]

Neither Hankins nor Keaton proved a threat to the perennial Republican candidate, Dennis Flynn. He easily out-distanced his opponents by a 9,000 vote majority running on a platform which lauded the Republican administration for the successful course of the Spanish-American War. Keaton carried only three counties and Hankins none as the Populist territorial organization practically collapsed for want of enthusiasm. [44] Free silver retained enough of its popular appeal to promote a fusion ticket in 1900, but suffered another crushing defeat at the hand of Flynn. The Populists, victims of fusion's ferment, followed the advice of one editor who suggested that "the People's Party either needs to stand alone or cease to exist." [45]

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42 *The Chandler Publicist,* July 22, 1898.
43 *The Oklahoma State Capital,* August 28, 1898.
44 *Ibid.,* and *The Chandler Publicist,* December 2, 1898.
45 *The Tecumseh Leader,* November 20, 1896.

OKLAHOMA POPULISM AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

By Donald K. Pickens *

Historical interpretations—like ladies' fashions—change and sometimes quickly. A given historical interpretation is a complex product: the relationship of human imagination and logic plus the construction of historical materials—newspapers, letters, manuscripts, etc.—created into a meaningful pattern. Without the historian's insight, this process is not significant. The historiographic past, the historian's past, is constantly changing as new materials are discovered (or the old reworked) and as the events under discussion retreat deeper into the time past. Simply, the historian and his subject are caught in the passage of time.

Often, in observing their process among professional historians, one acquires the distinct impression that novel insight (or the desire for a distinguished interpretation) places a given historian in an intellectually awkward position. Richard Hofstadter is such a historian. His account of Populism in his book *The Age of Reform* . . . is a social psychological explanation turning on the questions of status and irrational agrarian reaction to industrialism. [1] The novelty of his interpretation blinds him to the merits of older historical accounts and research methods. Granted a historian deals in irony, paradox and mixed motives in describing and analyzing the human condition, but Mr. Hofstadter's view of Populism is too much an exercise of imagination independent of orthodox research techniques according to one critic. His book soon after its publication in 1955 became the lodestone for anti-Populist historical writing.

In recent years historians have attempted an interpretative reconstruction of Populism, drawing on Hofstadter's analysis. And in all the scholarly revisions some scholars have issued clever accounts demonstrating or *attempting* to demonstrate that Populism was really a nativistic creed. The Populists, accordingly, were Jew-baiters, militant racists and super-patriots whose political descendents supported McCarthyism. [2] In brief the

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*Dr. Donald A. Pickens is Assistant Professor of history at North Texas State University, Denton, Texas.

[1] Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.*, (New York: Knopf, 1955). See the chapter "The Folklore of Populism," pp. 60-93.

[2] The essays in Daniel Bell, editor, *The Radical Right,* (New York: Doubleday, 1963) develop the notion of the Populists as nativists and as a historic source for popular McCarthyism. The essays, however, are without documentation. Victor C. Ferkiss "Populist Influence On American Fascism," *Western Political Quarterly X* (June 1957) also pursues these same themes.

Populists were provincial Anglo-Saxons fighting eastern and alien monopolists. As one scholar wrote "To grasp their illiberalism, one has only to remember that out of Populist background came Tom Watson and Cole Blease, Martin Dies, William Lemke, Huey Long—even Pat McCarren." [3]

Norman Pollack attacked this thesis in "Hofstadter on Populism: A Critique of 'The Age of Reform' " in volume XXVI, November 1960 of *The Journal of Southern History*, pages 478-500. Pollack gives a systematic account of Hofstadter's failure to do basic research in Populist materials located in the various state historical societies. In stressing social psychological concepts, Hofstadter's book, according to Pollack, did not explain properly the merit of traditional interpretations based on social, political and economic circumstances producing the agrarian discontent.

Pollack contends that the dominant themes in Populist ideology: The idea of a golden age, the concept of natural harmonies, the dualistic version of social struggles, the conspiracy theory of history, and the doctrine of the primacy of money were parts of general Nineteenth Century thought. Sharply, Norman Pollack attacks these themes as elements of Hofstadter's internal consistency for his historical model, based on the static assumptions of a consensus theory of history and ultimately a static view of human nature. In brief, Pollack demonstrates that Hofstadter allows his theme—status crisis—to dictate his use of historical materials and research. Ideally, of course, the reverse of this process is desirable.

A study of Oklahoma Populist newspapers suggest that Pollack's criticism of Hofstadter's history is valid. [4] Psychological analysis, without proper historical documentation, contributes to the unwarranted reconstruction of the past by ignoring basic economic grievances within American society. Oklahoma Populism, if nothing else, expressed the deep rooted problem of making a living on the agrarian frontier.

Hofstadter, an urban liberal in essence, discovered what he considered the source of contemporary patriotic hysteria and anti-intellectualism—Populism. In this judgment, the present is too much with Mr. Hofstadter. History is not always current events, written in the past tense; however, some historians are wont to create history in such a fashion.

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[3] Arthur Mann "The Progressive Tradition" in John Higham, editor, *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York: Harpers Torchbooks, 1962), p. 172.

[4] Donald K. Pickens "The Principles And Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918" Master's Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1957, The University of Oklahoma Library. See particularly chapter one. Hereafter cited as Pickens "The Principles And Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918."

Supporting Pollack's defense, C. Vann Woodward in his essay "The Populist Heritage and the Intellectual" defends the Populist against the revisionist charges of bigotry and narrow economic self-interest. [5] Woodward notes how the neo-Populism of the New Deal contained a Populistic version of United States history. The differing circumstances of cold war America—the apparent popular support of McCarthyism—caused many intellectuals to feel betrayed by "the will of the people" that intellectuals had glorified in their Populistic treatment of the nation's past. Historiographically, the result was a shift in emphasis to the Populist's nativism and irrational emotions. In fact some historians—already cited—froze their vision to these apparent failings. Suddenly these historians could not live with history (in its older interpretation) and the present situation dictated the switch in characterization from the Populist as the St. George in a morality play version of United States history to the newer role as redneck reactionary.

The balance of Woodward's article deals systematically with charges of Populists being midwestern bigots. Woodward countered their view with a defense of Southern Populism and its many positive achievements.

Using the Woodward thesis, Walter T. K. Nugent, in his discussion of Kansas Populists, provides detailed and solid evidence that they were neither nativists nor a selfish interest group. Naturally, the economic depression of the last years of the nineteenth century contributed to Populist growth. [6] Nugent claims that later reform developments in the 20th Century "makes it unrealistic even to equate the Kansas Populists with Populist of other regions or other states." [7] In regard to Oklahoma Populism, Nugent's academic restraint is too modest. An examination of Oklahoma Populist newspapers on deposit in the Oklahoma Historical Society failed to reveal any anti-Jew, or general nativist attitudes.

The Populist movement in other regions and states varied sometimes in marked fashions. Naturally social, economic and political circumstances differed throughout the nation and Populists, to have any degree of success, tailored their tactics and

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[5] The essay is in *The Burden of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: L.S.U. Press, 1960), pp. 141-166.

[6] *The Tolerant Populists, Kansas Populism and Nativism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), 165. Hereafter cited as Nugent *Tolerant Populists*. For a good summary of Nugent's argument see page 207 of his book.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

sometimes their programs accordingly.[8] Where poverty was the greatest, Populists were most vocal in demanding radical solutions to the agrarian problems. Of course Henry D. Lloyd's generalization was quite correct, given the electric nature of American political parties, in writing that the "People's party is a fortuitous collection of the dissatisfied."[9]

Norman Pollack in *The Populist Response to Industrial America* claims that Populism and Socialism had much in common; but, "Populism was certainly not Marxism."[10] Pollack's essential analysis and argument is as follows:[11]

> I propose the following historical definition of midwestern Populism: While primarily an agrarian movement it also contained significant support from industrial labor, social reformers, and intellectuals. The interactions between these groups was expressed not in terms of pre-industrial producer values, but of a common ideology stemming from a shared critique of existing conditions. In a word, Populism regarded itself as a class movement reasoning that farmers and workers were assuming the same material position in society. Thus, it accepted industrialism but opposed its capitalistic form, seeking instead a more equitable distribution of wealth. But Populism went further in its criticism: Industrial capitalism not only impoverished the individual, it alienated and degraded him. The threat was not only subsistence living, but the destruction of human faculties. According to Populism, there was an inverse relation between industrialism and freedom. Is Populism, then, a socialist movement? Here labels become unimportant; it was far more radical than is generally assumed. Had Populism succeeded, it could have fundamentally altered American society in a socialist direction. Clearly Populism was a Progressive social force.

Pollack's emphasis on the similarities between Populism and Socialism is a revival of an old historiographic opinion on the Populist crusade.[12] The cycle of interpretation was complete.

This controversy among historians over the nature of Populism is germane to an understanding of the Oklahoma People's Party. Pollack's thesis, although based on mid-western Populism,

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[8] John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931) contains a full bibliography up to the book's publication date. For later bibliographical developments see Irwin Unger, editor "Populism: Nostalgic or Progressive?" *The Berkeley Series In American History,* Charles Sellers, general editor (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), 59-60. Hereafter cited as Unger "Populism: Nostalgic or Progressive?"

[9] Letter from Henry D. Lloyd to Richard T. Ely, October 10, 1896 as quoted by Unger "Populism: Nostalgic or Progressive?", p. 58.

[10] (Cambridge: Howard University Press, 1962), 68. Hereafter cited as Pollack, *Populist Response.*

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 11-12.

[12] Everett Walters "Populism: Its Significance In American History", *Essays In American Historiography Papers Presented In Honor of Allan Nevins,* Donald Sheehan and Harold C. Syrett, editors (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 217. Hereafter cited as Walters "Populism: Its Significance In American History."

applies to the Oklahoma situation. In a word, the Oklahoma Populists and Socialists shared a tap root in American radicalism, in their ideology, manner of analysis, sociological support and finally in their common destiny of alienation from Sooner State politics.

In early Oklahoma the Populist and Socialist parties, reflecting the injustices of the rural population, demanded basic changes in society. Varying only in degree of economic and social control emphasized in their programs, they fought the plutocratic capitalists in a colorful and emotional fashion but with high moral and ethical purpose. The Sooner Populists, like the later territorial Socialists, wrote a platform based on local needs. In addition to the Omaha Platform, the People's Party urged ownership to actual settlers, anti-fusion, immediate statehood, the establishment of an elective board of arbitration for labor disputes and a host of minor reforms. [13]

Ideologically the Populists and Socialists presented a common front against the traditional foe of American reform movements—monopoly. [14] Utilizing the ancient cry of equality of opportunity, they stressed the labor theory of value as the only basis for creating an equitable arrangement in society. It was not a case of Oklahoma reformers being intellectually committed Marxists. Rather they saw their efforts thwarted by those who held, what the Populist-Socialist believed, to be an unfair economic advantage. They responded with immediate programs of reforms based on current needs.

Faced with the hardships of the agrarian frontier in the late Nineteenth Century, Oklahoma farmers were easily aware of class differences. Just as midwestern Populists saw this condition, their Oklahoma counterparts claimed that in 1860 the farmer held seventy five per cent of the wealth but in 1894 they controlled only twenty-five per cent. *The Payne County Populist* saw the results of this process in the increases of tenant farmers, mortgage debts, tramps and unemployment. [15] Accordingly, the economic consolidation created the superfluous man, aliened from his work and society. [16] This analysis matches Pollack's definition of Populism.

Economics was a major factor in the life of the Sooner pioneer farmer. Despite the newness of settlement, farm tenancy

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[13] *The Payne County Populist* (Stillwater), August 4, 1894. This newspaper and all other Oklahoma newspapers cited are located in the newspaper room of the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City.

[14] Pollack, *The Populist Response,* 71-72. See also Pickens "The Principles and Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918."

[15] (Stillwater), October 20, 1894.

[16] Pickens "The Principles and Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1918."

rose quickly and despite the efforts of Populists and Socialists continued as a major problem until World War II. Socialist votes and tenancy grew together in the years before the Great War. [17]

The causes of farm tenancy varied. One authority suggests, however, the defects in the governmental land system, contributed greatly to the increase of tenancy. These defects, coupled with money lenders and land speculators brought tenancy early to the prairie states of Illinois and Indiana. Started before 1880, the situation spread to the newer territory of Oklahoma where the depression of the 1890's changed free-holders into tenants. The large absentee landowners increased the number of tenant's acres. [18] The inherent hardships—weather, isolation, a new land —were great. The economic situation led to political action and so the People's Party came into being on the Sooner frontier. Small family farmers tried operating in an age of growing corporate agriculture. Caught in a changing economic order, these people turned to the old American method of protest politics.

The Populist and Socialist expressed similar reactions in the territorial platforms. Such Populists planks as government ownership of railroads, communications and all other natural monopolies, abolition of interest bearing bonds, the reduction of the hours of labor, municipal ownership of public utilities, and a graduated income tax, were repeated in the Socialist platform. [19] As expected, the Populist list included the old panacea—free silver—It would increase the amount of money in circulation, thereby raising prices and eliminating poverty so that injustice would disappear, it was "the only cure for hard times," [20] said the *Payne County Populist*. Pure Socialism was minor in Populist dogma, although government, the Populists believed, should curb monopoly, thereby creating equality of opportunity. Government banks with county seat branches would stop the unjust activities of the financial capitalists.

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17 *Ibid.*, 104. Pollack, *The Populist Response,* pp. 31-33.

18 Paul W. Gates "Land Policy and Tenancy In the Prairie States" *Journal of Economic History I* (May, 1941), 82. For a similar pattern of development in Texas see B. P. Gallaway "Population Trends In the Western Cross Timbers of Texas, 1890-1960: Economic Change and Social Balance" *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* LXVII (January, 1964), 386. For a scholarly discussion of interest and general agrarian problems in the midwest see Allan G. Boque two works, *Money At Interest, The Farm Mortgage On the Middle Border* (Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1955) and *From Prairie To Corn Belt, Farming On the Illinois And Iowa Prairies In the Nineteeth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963). Unfortunately, to my knowledge, similar works dealing with Oklahoma do not exist.

19 Socialist Party of Oklahoma, *Platform and Campaign Book,* 1912 (Oklahoma City, 1912, pp. 3-5). A copy is located in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

20 *The Payne County Populist* (Stillwater), March 6, 1894.

Great differences existed between Populism and Socialism on the national level, but local issues brought them closer together in Oklahoma Territory. The editor of the *Alva Review* remarked, "We do not see the need of organizing a new party at this time as the demands of the Populist party are right in line with those of the new Socialist party, with few exceptions." [21] Populism in the Oklahoma Territory was a foundation for the agrarian Socialism of later years because of their similar ideological and sociological appeal.

Ten years earlier in 1889 a Nebraska editor expressed a similar opinion: rejection of Socialism as an organized political party but endorsement of its principles. [22] Quite possibly contemporaries in the late Nineteenth Century clearly recognized the major and innate ideological and emotional connections between the two movements that were discounted by some later historians.

Occasionally Oklahoma Populists criticized Socialism as premature in the evolution of human society. For example, the editor of the *Newkirk Populist* proclaimed that Socialism was too visionary and immediately unobtainable. Practical problems facing the public, he went on to say, necessitated the use of the present system. In fact, "The Declaration of Independence and the Omaha platform contain probably as much socialism as will be realized within the next hundred years." But there was hope for Socialism, he continued, "if the whole world should be converted to practical Christianity sooner than that hundred years, thus rendering socialism possible, so much the better." [23] Socialism was not completely abandoned: It was placed in the realm of visionary idealism, attainable in the future.

The whole and complex fusion of the Democratic and Populist party nationally is too involved to repeat here. Suffice it to say, the anti-fusion element—the "middle-of-the-road Populists" —were ideologically the most dedicated reformers. In Oklahoma the fusion process was a difficult (and confusion) ordeal. [24] Oklahoma non-fusion Populists moved into the Socialist Party. Their Kansas counterparts, "meanwhile had gone 'almost solidly' to the Socialist party." [25] In fact, one historian noted that in mid-western United States "there were Populists holding socialist views while remaining consistent Populists." [26] This condition also existed in Oklahoma.

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21 *Alva Review,* November 2, 1899.

22 *Custer County Beacon* (Broken Bow, Nebraska), October 17, 1889. The newspaper is located in the Nebraska Historical Society.

23 October 3, 1895.

24 Pickens "The Principles And Program of Oklahoma Socialism, 1900-1920", pp. 15-21.

25 Nugent *The Tolerant Populists,* p. 225.

26 Pollack *The Populist Response,* p. 99.

The migration into the promised land of Socialism was the logical result for the dedicated Populists. One major problem in this migration was leadership. Naturally it can be assumed that some Populists went into the Democratic Party when the Populist organization was absorbed. In a quick review, however, it can be pointed out that several important Populist leaders went into the Socialist party.

Thomas Scott Smith followed this pattern. Born in Kentucky, he fought in the Civil War, and came to Oklahoma with the first territorial opening. A newspaper editor by profession, he became a member of the People's Party and later joined the Socialists. Scott ran as the Socialist candidate for congressional delegate in 1902. [27]

In Woods County several Socialist candidates for county offices came from reform and Populist backgrounds. R. E. Bray, nominee for district judge, was the son of poor parents. As a lawyer, he gave active support to the Populist cause. Bray served as a delegate to the Populists national conventions of 1896 and 1900. When he discovered the true meaning of the class struggle, according to the Alva newspaper, he became a Socialist. [28] John Randall of Woods County was a candidate for county clerk. A member of the Greenback Party in 1878, he then joined the Union Labor Party and later became a Populist. By 1902, he was an active Socialist. [29]

A. S. Hawkins was first a Grover Cleveland Democrat in 1884. Disgusted with Democratic politics, he joined the Farmers' Alliance and later he became a member of the People's Party. In 1898 he was the Populist candidate for congressional delegate on an anti-fusion platform. Hawkins, in 1912, was the Socialist candidate for Representative. [30]

Oscar Ameringer, in his autobiography, related his thoughts on the Socialist-Populist relationship. He recalled how Steuben de Kalb Wham, a founder of the Territorial Populist Party, contributed to the Socialist Party. [31] According to Ameringer, at the early Socialist meetings "nearly all of the local agitators and speakers were ex-middle-of-the-road Populists and all of old American stock." [32] Where else could the non fusionists go? They could not join the Republican Party and they had repudiated the Democrats. With their own organization dead, the Socialist Party was the logical political organization for them. Even

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27 *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), July 26, 1902.

28 *Constructive Socialist* (*Alva*), August 14, 1912.

29 *Ibid.*, August 21, 1912.

30 *Ibid.*, September 11, 1912.

31 Oscar Ameringer *If You Don't Weaken* (New York 1940), p. 278.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 264.

some of the songs at the Socialist encampments were of Populist origin. [33] In summary this pilgrimage in successive third party attempts included leaders and followers in this period. [34]

Before the Great War and Russian Revolution, the United States held a freer political atmosphere, for indigenous radicalism. [35] In the years 1865-1914, before foreign policy and events overtly dictated domestic politics, the conservative patriotism syndrome, created in the emotions of the Great War, did not force radicals into a defensive position or later liberal intellectuals and historians into a painful revision of their legacy of reform from the Populists. Since 1945, however, the situation has changed. In this manner, the earlier interpretation of the Populists became a cold war victim. The past became the present. Historians forever interpret the past, but, whatever future interpretations are forecoming, the Sooner's state Populist and Socialist parties, as a part of America's organic radical past, remains.

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 260, 265.

[34] Pollack *The Populist Response*, p. 8.

[35] For legal and extra legal methods of repression of Oklahoma radicals within a national context see H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917-18* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1957).

THE INLAND PRAIRIE TOWN

By Albert S. Gilles, Sr. *

The inland prairie town, one that sprang into existence without a railroad, and there were a multitude around the turn of the century in Oklahoma Territory, was a fine example of Anglo-Saxon initiative. Some of these towns actually became county seats. It was always interesting to live in these inland communities.

First the town had been someone's dream because few towns come into being from necessity. The early businessmen were men with drive and initiative. Almost without exception, they had a minimum of capital, and they faced many problems.

There were no buildings for rent, and the prospective businessman had to provide his own building. The lumber for his building, and his stock of merchandise was hauled from the nearest accessible rail point. This might be 20, 30, 40, or more miles away. Banking was done at the railhead or at the county seat. A school district had to be organized; arrangements made for money to build a building, finance the furnishings, and pay the teacher's salary.

Because all kinds of people came to the frontier, a town was scarcely started until it found itself in need of a law-enforcement agency. The Justice of the Peace system, we inherited from England, was soon invoked by the citizens. Until a jail could be provided, a cave ("fraid hole") could be used to incarcerate the obstreperous until they sobered up, or could be transferred to the county seat.

Sooner or later, "Where two or three are gathered together," the circuit rider appeared. Mostly he came horseback, his Bible and hymnal together with his spare shirt in the saddlebags, his bedrolls wrapped in a slicker and tied behind the cantle. Sometimes he would have a little more of this world's goods, and would be driving a team of ponies hitched to an old hack that had long since lost its top. A camping outfit, probably an old saddle and a meager supply of food would be piled in the rear of the rig. But always the hunger for souls to save shone in his eyes.

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* Albert S. Gilles, Sr., was a member of the survey-crew in the Government survey of the "Big Pasture" in old Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory, 1906. He lives in Norman, Oklahoma where he practiced law for many years. He refers to himself as a "teller of tales" about his experiences in Southwestern Oklahoma in territorial days, his stories having been published in different magazines including *Southwest Review* (autumn, 1964).—Ed.

The first circuit rider seen by the writer only had a second-hand bicycle, possibly worth $5. He laid out his circuit covering two towns and three schoolhouses. Later we learned he was supported by the Home Mission Board of his church: twenty dollars per month for his salary, living expenses and the upkeep of his bicycle.

In due time, the needs of most of the little towns were cared for. Generally there was a shoe cobbler and a barber homesteading nearby. They came to town Friday and Saturday to work at their trade, and looked after their homesteads the rest of the week.

Often the barber chair was in the saloon. There was one little town where the saloon housed the barber chair. A cowboy from a nearby ranch showed up on most Saturday afternoons, and did the tonsorial honors.

Always there was the combination blacksmith, wagon maker, and horseshoer. He came on the scene early. He was an independent, self-sufficient soul. He would buy a cheap, outlying lot for his box-type shop because people had to come to him for his services. A blacksmith seldom had a partner but he might hire an itinerant wagon maker or horseshoer during the busy season.

The most fascinating business was unknown in the older states, the wagon yard. In reading, the writer has never found its counterpart in another country. It was not a livery stable in any sense. Sometimes there were saddle horses and rigs for rent, or personal services for the customer's horse.

The primary purpose of the wagon yard was shelter for the traveler's beast and a place of safety for his rig. Service was at a minimum. The yard generally occupied a 50-foot to 75-foot frontage. Facing the street in one corner was the combination office and feed room, possibly 12 x 16 feet in size. Often a cot in this room provided the owner-manager sleeping quarters.

Facing the street in the other corner of the lot was the camp house. This was larger than the other building, possibly 14 x 20 feet. Along most of the two long sides were built-in single bunks. Often they were two bunks high. In the rear of the camp house was a small wood cookstove, a table, and several chairs. It was the general practice to make no charges for the use of this camp house.

A continuous shed barn was bulit around the remainder of the three sides of the property. Four-foot partitions divided this shed into single and double stalls. The manger was along the inside wall of this shed, leaving the rear of the stalls open to the

yard. The traveler could leave his wagon or rig safely inside the yard. Substantial gates between the feed room and the camp house closed the front of the yard at night.

The customer unhitched his own horses, pumped water for them, stabled and unharnessed them. He bought whatever feed he wanted his animals to have from the feed room. He could buy prairie hay either by the bale or "flake." Sometimes the word "charge" was used. It was what hay had gone into the old-styled hand-feed baler, as a single charge, or forkful, and separated from the rest of the bale easily. A large flake was about what a saddle horse would eat in a single night.

For his horse's grain, one could buy either oats or corn chop. "Corn chop" was the trade name given corn that had been run through a mill, set so the individual grain was cracked into several pieces but not ground fine like meal. Corn was supposed to make a horse "heat up" or raise its temperature, and make it sweat more, in warm weather especially. Most folks liked to feed their saddle horses oats. The owner bought grain, a feed at a time, and fed his own horse.

The writer has stabled his saddle horse many times in wagon yards. The saddle and blanket were left astride the partition with the bridle hanging on the saddle horn, and they would be unmolested in the morning. The stall was always clean when the horse was stabled, and the owner was at liberty to ride away in the morning, leaving it dirty. This and safety were the only two services offered. Hay left in the manger in the stall supplied bedding for the next horse.

The accommodations offered in the camp house were not always needed. A rider could care for his horse, take his bedroll into the camp house, leave it in one of the bunks, and thus stake out his sleeping place. He would be privileged to use the bunk as long as he kept his horse in the yard. The customary charge for a single horse was 15 cents for a noontime stay of two to three hours, and 25 cents for an overnight stay. Generally 50 to 75 cents was charged for a team.

At times the camp house became invaluable. People driving to town, say 20 to 25 miles for supplies, generally drove in one day, made their purchases, loaded their supplies, and in good weather, camped just outside the building area. They rolled for home at daybreak the next morning. It was a good team that could average three miles an hour, pulling a load. This meant a 20 to 25 mile journey took seven to eight hours travel time, plus the noonday stop for feed and rest—assuming the roads were dry and weather favorable.

In case of falling weather, or an unheralded visitation of a norther, the camp house was a haven for the man and his family

while his wagon stood safely in the yard, and the horses were under shelter. For the shelter and feed for his team and a place out of the weather for his family, a man would pay in the neighborhood of a dollar and a half. At times, people traveling in a covered wagon would stay in a wagon yard during a prolonged rainy spell.

There were times when people were desperate for a place to sleep away from the weather during a boom. They bought bedding and rented a stall in the wagon yard. Buying a bale of hay, they would shake it out for a place to spread their bedding. One can sleep most anywhere in clement weather, but falling weather, or a prolonged norther, brings the need for a windbreak and a roof.

The livery stable had lap robes and other goods to sell besides shelter for a horse. In event one put up at a livery barn, stablemen unhitched, stalled, fed, watered, and curried the horses. If the owner wished his horses hitched up and ready at a certain time the next morning and brought to the hotel, the team was found waiting at the hitching rack.

The liveryman had saddle horses as well as teams, buggies and hacks for hire, by the day, week, or month. Generally he was paid $2.50 for a team and buggy for the day. If the team was kept out overnight, its keep was paid for wherever stop was made. If a driver was needed, the liveryman furnished for an additional sum a driver who was familiar with the trails. The driver's keep was also paid while he was out on the road.

One of the last businesses to locate in an inland town was a drugstore. Until a drugstore came, the general store carried the standard drugs and home remedies for man and beast. It was hard for a town to persuade a doctor to locate if there was no drugstore. A druggist hesitated to put in a store if there was no doctor.

When and if the railroad finally came, nearly always a point was made for the survey to miss the established town, unless an almost prohibitive bonus was paid to the railroad. If the bonus was not paid, the railroad would lay out a town of its own near enough to destroy the old town. The established businessmen would then have to buy lots in the new town, and move their business buildings. This was especially true when the railroad town took the same name. The railroad town would ultimately secure the post office.

Cheyenne, Arnett, Buffalo, Beaver, and Boise City are county seat towns in Western Oklahoma that came into being as inland towns.

(Oklahoma Historical Society Collection)

Main Street in Beaver, 1893

A DEPUTY U. S. MARSHAL IN THE TERRITORIES

By Leola Lehman

William Bartley Murrill, onetime U. S. Deputy Marshal, took part in the colorful, typically frontier problems of early day Oklahoma.

Born September 3, 1870, in Kanawha County, West Virginia, [1] Murrill was the son of Edward Marcellus Murrill, a circuit preacher. December 21, 1890 Murrill married Jennie Lister of Clay County, Texas. Eight children were born: Frank Edward, Ray, Bert, Richard, Arno, Lynn, Don and Roy.

Murrill left Oklahoma in 1898. He continued his career as an officer of the law in Kansas and Arkansas. In 1940 he moved to California. Pollock Pines, California was the last home of the old time peace officer and it was here, known as "Star Bill," that he took part in the annual reenactment of the Bullion Bend stage robbery. This interesting bit of history is a part of the Highway 50 Association Wagon Train and the veteran lawman commented upon the technique of the robbers.

"If the robbery had taken place in Oklahoma Territory in the same manner that it is reenacted the road agents would never have gotten out of sight," he said. [2]

March 3, 1956, Mr. Murrill died. He was buried at Western Hills Memorial Park, Placerville, California.

Little is known of William Bartley Murrill's youth until he came to Oklahoma while a teen age boy. Here, in 1888, he worked as a cow hand for Tom Russell. Murrill states that on their spring roundup that year they had trouble with a band of Cheyenne Indians. This came about when they left their summer camp on the North Fork of Red River and headed for the Oklahoma panhandle to round up horses that had drifted during the winter months. The run in with the Indians occurred along the way.

"One white man and five Indians were killed before the fracas was over," Murrill said. [3]

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[1] Vernon E. Allen, *The Bee,* El Dorado, California. Murrill showed this reporter a birth certificate showing that he was born in Kanawha County, West Virginia, Sept. 3, 1870. The administrator of the W. B. Murrill estate and his descendants have deposited the original documents, narratives, newspaper clippings and photographs with the Oklahoma Historical Society and they are now in the files.

[2] From newspaper clipping in *The Bee,* El Dorado, California.

[3] Murrill's account Sept. 13, 1888, titled "Facts" in Murrill Papers.

While in his early twenties Murrill became interested in law enforcement, a problem that had long troubled the twin territories.

From the time of the removal of the Civilized Tribes into Oklahoma a serious problem in law enforcement became evident. The Indians policed and tried their own people but their courts had no jurisdiction over U.S. citizens. Since no Federal court had jurisdiction in Indian Territory this situation created a haven of refuge for criminals from surrounding states.

In 1834 Congress passed a law extending control of the U. S. Courts in Arkansas over U. S. citizens in Indian Territory. In 1844 headquarters for these courts were established in Van Buren and later in Fort Smith. These two courts had jurisdiction over all U. S. citizens in Indian Territory and over Indians who committed crimes against a U. S. citizen. In 1875 Judge Isaac C. Parker was appointed Judge at Fort Smith. In 1883 U. S. Courts were established in Wichita, Kansas and Paris, Texas. This provided the people of Oklahoma with more convenient courts, making it easier for lawmen to bring their prisoners in. But the law enforcement situation was still unwieldy.

To sign a complaint against a criminal the accuser had to go to the court, up to a hundred miles away. This was both expensive and time consuming since travel was entirely by horse power. Also, the criminal had ample time to disappear before an officer could come in after him. [4]

The courts made every effort within their power to bring order in the territory. The Fort Smith court sent a force of 200 Federal Marshals into the roadless wilderness to search out criminals and bring them back for trial. Indians were often employed to track them down. The officers either rode a horse or traveled in the wagons that they took along to bring their prisoners back. Often they would be weeks or even months tracking down their men. This meant that for long periods of time desperate criminals were under their care in a country swarming with the equally ruthless friends of the prisoners. Although men were hired to drive these prison wagons while the deputies rode behind with a ready Winchester and the prisoners were shackled to wagon wheels at night, many lawmen were killed while bringing their men in. [5]

Indian inhabitants of the territory tried to remain out of the conflict between the white outlaws and peace officers. When they did give information it was dependable.

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[4] Muriel H. Wright, *Our Oklahoma,* Guthrie Press, 1949, pp. 233-34.

[5] Glen Shirley, *Heck Thomas—Frontier Marshal* (Chilton Press, N.Y., 1962), pp. 31-32.

It was easy for a wanted man to hide out in Oklahoma and Indian Territories. There was a dense tree coverage over much of the old, well known, "Cross Timbers" region, broken hill country and a chain of "hold-outs." These regular hide-outs swung a giant circle through the area. Beginning on the Red River in the Chickasaw Nation it extended north and east through the land of the Seminoles, across the Pawnee and Ponca country, south into the Glass Mountains, downward through Custer County, across the Wichita Mountains and back into the Chickasaw Nation. A map showing the exact location of all these "hold-outs" was found in the possession of a horse thief in 1900, and turned over to U. S. Attorney, Horace Speed.

Gangs of horse thieves operated over this chain of hide-outs with impunity. They ran stolen stock into southern Kansas where certain ranchers and owners of livery stables offered a going price of from $10.00 to $20.00 per head for horses in good condition—no questions asked. [6]

During these troubled years entire communities of criminals sprang up in Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory. One of the most infamous of these was "Dogtown Settlement." It lasted from 1894 until 1897. Lying between the North and South Canadian Rivers, this community extended west to about where Calvin and Wetumka are today. Its shacks and dugouts stretched east almost to Eufaula.

With plenty of water, wood and pasture, this area was an ideal spot for the riff-raff to settle. The population was around a hundred men, women and children. After law abiding citizens settled in Oklahoma Territory, the "Dogtown Settlement" and others of its kind became a thing of the past. [7]

In 1889 Congress passed an act creating the first U. S. Court in Indian Territory. It was located in Muskogee and the law was based upon that of Arkansas. In 1890 three U. S. Courts were set up in Indian Territory: Muskogee, McAlester and Ardmore. In 1898 all Indian Courts were abolished and all persons in Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory were placed under the jurisdiction of the U. S. Courts. [8] Traveling courts did their part in the effort to bring local law to the settlers.

During these years in which law officers and outlaws struggled for mastery in Oklahoma many lawmen whose names were already famous throughout the west came to the aid of the courts. Men who had helped to tame other frontier communities

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[6] *The St. Louis Republic,* Sept. 15, 1912, Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

[7] The Experiences of a Deputy U. S. Marshal of Indian Territory—Story of W. F. Jones—Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

[8] Wright, *op. cit.,* pp. 234-35.

just as rough and tough as Oklahoma. These included such men as William Tilghman, Chris Madsen, Heck Thomas and Bud Ledbetter who made names for themselves as U. S. Deputy Marshals. A small army of U. S. deputies operated under these chief deputies. Young W. B. Murrill was among them.

Murrill worked out of the El Reno office under the supervision of Chris Madsen. He had worked before this as a deputy sheriff under Sheriff Thomas R. Jackson, Canadian County, Oklahoma Territory. When his services proved satisfactory Marshal Nix reappointed Murrill for the Fiscal year of 1896. At this time it was arranged that he receive 75% of his fees instead of the previous 65%. [9]

These deputies who worked under supervision of the chief deputies were not paid a flat salary. They received around six cents a mile while on official business, 50c for each paper served, $2.00 for each arrest made and $1.00 a day expense money while after a criminal. Since they had to present vouchers for this last payment they often failed to collect since they operated in a country where many of the inhabitants could neither read nor write, [10] They were sometimes able to collect the rewards offered by express companies.

The Dalton gang was the first big organized group of outlaws to make a reputation in Oklahoma. Here, again, we see the heritage from neighboring states. The Dalton brothers—Bob, Gratton, Emmett and Bill—were cousins of the Younger brothers who were members of the Jesse James gang in Missouri. With Bob Dalton as the leader these brothers and their followers robbed trains and banks for eighteen months before they were almost wiped out at a double bank robbery at Coffeyville, Kansas, May 9, 1891.

Well known members of the gang were: Bitter Creek Newcomb, Charlie Pierce, Bill Powers, Dick Broadwell, William McElhanie and Bill Doolin.

When the Dalton gang was destroyed one of the survivors, Bill Doolin, immediately formed his own more vicious gang. Bill Dalton, Pierce and Newcomb, old Dalton men became followers of this new outlaw leader. Little Dick West, Bill Raidler, Red Buck Waightman, Dan Clifton or "Dynamite Dick" as he was known, Jack Blake, known as "Tulsa Jack," Ol Yantis and Roy Dougherty alias Tom Jones alias "Arkansas Tom," were added to the gang as time passed.

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[9] From the letter to Murrill from U. S. Marshal Nix at the time he was reappointed as a deputy in 1896.—Murrill Papers.

[10] Shirley, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

These outlaws found it easy to evade the lawmen. Either from sympathy or through a justifiable fear of reprisal many settlers refused to help the law by giving information. Some not only refused to talk, they actively gave aid to the criminals by warning them when marshals rode into the area and by providing supplies. Some of these semi-members of the gangs were women.

Among the women outlaws were Annie McDougal known as "Cattle Annie" and Jennie Stevens known as "Little Britches". These girls acted as informers for the outlaw gangs and, at times, took part in cattle rustling operations. They were finally arrested and sent to a reformatory back east.

"Rose of the Cimarron," most controversial figure among the women outlaws, was the girl friend of Bitter Creek Newcomb. [11] She is reported to have run through a hail of bullets to take a gun to Bitter Creek during the battle between officers of the law and outlaws at Ingalls.

Flora Quick, alias Tom King, was a member of a farm family in Missouri but after her first taste of frontier life she took to the outlaw trail with zest. She was best known as a horse thief although she dabbled in other criminal activities. Tom King's only known photograph shows her to have been an attractive looking woman, well dressed and riding a good horse, the picture made after she had married and was living in the northwest. She was never a member of an organized gang.

Bill Doolin was killed by Heck Thomas in 1896 and that broke the back of his gang. Little Dick West joined the Jennings brothers, Al and Frank, and they tried to form a gang but the time for such organizations was over in Oklahoma and they were not successful.

Two less well known gangs were the Cook gang and one led by Bert Casey. Bill Cook was leader of the Cook gang. Some of his followers were far more vicious and bloodthirsty than he was. Cherokee Bill and Henry Starr were two of the worst.

Bert Casey was a cruel leader who did not hesitate to kill his own men when he began to doubt them. Casey had around twenty-four men scattered over Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory and they were sworn to give instant and unquestioning obedience to their leader. This was the last gang of any importance to operate in Oklahoma. Casey was killed by one of his own men.

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[11] Glen Shirley, "Rose of the Cimarron—Truth or Myth?" in *True West*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1954); Maggie Rex Oldham, "Rose of the Cimarron," *Ibid.*; Paul Wellman, *A Dynasty of Western Outlaws* (Doubleday, N.Y., 1961) pp. 204-5.

With settlers coming into Oklahoma in droves with each new land opening, the demand for law and order became urgent. The outlaws desperately wanted this last refuge so they openly challenged the power of the law. Open conflict resulted. In 1894 word came from Washington to put an end to the reign of terror, Chris Madsen, Bill Tilghman and Heck Thomas were given the assignment of overseeing the needed cleanup. It was during this final campaign for law and order that young Murrill became a deputy.

Murrill and another U. S. deputy marshal, M. S. Hutchison, rode out to locate the hideout of some horse thieves who were making big raids all through Oklahoma Territory. They rode to Dover, a little town on the Cimarron River, to pick up information as to where a part of the men involved made a habit of staying. They learned enough here to ride on to Watonga. Here they spent the night. Next day they headed north.

"That was some of the roughest country I ever saw," Murrill related. "It rained hard all day and we had to stop between showers to cook our supper. We knew that we had reached the vicinity where our men hung out but needed to know exactly where."

After their meal the two officers went down the creek to an Indian camp of about a hundred tipi. Upon inquiry they learned where to find both of the men they were after. They proceeded to the home of the one nearest to them. Here they found the wanted man with his wife and small boy. The wife was ill and the husband sat beside her bed caring for her. Murrill did not like his work at that moment.

"I never felt as bad in my life as when I went into that house to arrest the man as he sat watching over his sick wife with his little boy standing there," he said. "But I had to perform my duty so I told the man my business and read the warrant to him. We stayed all night and the husband and wife clung together until the last. Before we left we arranged for a neighbor to come stay with the wife."

At the other home the officers met with a different situation. When the deputies arrested this man, his wife came out and threatened to whip every marshal in Oklahoma. This was not an unusual attitude among outlaw wives.

In September, 1895, Murrill and eight other deputies were down in the South Canadian river bottom looking for a gang of men whose sworn purpose it was to exterminate all marshals in the territory. Knowing that they were in the right neighborhood to find Harris, one of the gang, they stopped at a house where two women were out in the yard. When asked where they

could find Harris the women only stared back at the officers. Questioned further they still refused to say a word. There was nothing the officers could do except ride away.

The deputies set up camp and cooked their supper. Afterward Murrill and two others rode out to see if they could locate Harris. They noticed a cabin with a light showing, stopped and called a hello. The light blinked out and a man shouted, "Who'se there?"

The lawmen had a story ready. They said that they were cow hands on the way farther into Indian country and wanted to know where the best river crossing was. The man in the house was not taken in.

"You are marshals and want information," he shouted. "Get out of here before I take a shot at you."

It had been a long day and Murrill's temper was short. "Get your head back inside or I will crease you so that I will know you the next time I see you."

The outlaws were a rough lot but the lawmen who went after them did not wear ruffles.

The three officers rode on. Nearby they saw a dugout. A man lived alone there and was afraid to talk. "Harris is a bad man," he said. "He would kill me if I talked and he found out."

Upon their promise not to reveal their source of information the man told them where to find Harris. The deputies rode on. When they reached the Harris cabin they pretended that they had come to warn the outlaw that marshals were in the neighborhood and to advise him to leave before dawn. The ruse worked. Harris stepped outside. When he did two deputies grabbed him and the other held a gun on him. Mrs. Harris came outside screaming insults and threatening the men with a shotgun. She was quickly disarmed but continued to threaten them with what she would do. The officers returned to their camp, shackled the prisoner to a wagon wheel and turned in for the night. [12]

The big outlaw gangs robbed trains and banks. On the night of April 3, 1895, word reached Chris Madsen's office in El Reno that the Rock Island train had been held up at the Dover station north of Kingfisher. The express messenger was slightly wounded and some of the passengers robbed. The outlaws had been unable to open the safe.

At three o'clock a train headed north out of El Reno and there were twelve deputies aboard. Their horses were in a box-

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12 Murrill's account "My First Trip As A U. S. Deputy Marshal, Sept. 28, 1894,"—Murrill Papers.

car hitched to the back of the passenger cars. Murrill was among the group. About daylight they reached Dover. They unloaded their horses, mounted and picked up the outlaw trail. Around noon the posse divided into two equal groups and followed different trails as they continued the search. It was the middle of the afternoon when one of the groups came upon the outlaws.

The robbers were lying down in the edge of a blackjack thicket. One of the deputies shouted for them to throw up their hands. For an answer the outlaws opened fire. The shooting lasted for about half an hour. At that time the outlaws managed to mount and ride away. One man lay dead. He was later identified as "Tulsa Jack." Another was wounded since blood was thick upon the saddle of a dead horse. "Zip" Wyatt, another of the outlaws was recognized among the robber group. [13]

The time of the big outlaw gangs was swiftly passing in Oklahoma. Although the law as we know it today was still some years away the signs were clearly pointing the way toward a peaceful, law abiding state in the near future.

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[13] *El Reno Globe,* April 5, 1895; *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 5, 1895; *Kingfisher Free Press,* April 4, 1895; *The Hennessey Clipper,* April 11, 1895 (Master roll 343).

All of these newspaper accounts agree upon the events of the Dover train robbery. Twelve U. S. Deputy Marshals went on this posse. When they divided into two groups the six who were together when "Tulsa Jack" was killed were named and are as follows: Billy Banks, Captain Prather, J. H. Clay, Billy (W. E.) Moore, M. S. Hutchison and John Phelps. Murrill's name was not mentioned in these accounts and the writer checked more of them than are mentioned here. None of the names of the officers who took the other trail were listed so it is assumed that one of the men was Murrill.

LIFE AND SOCIETY IN SAPULPA

By Pauline P. Jackson

At the turn of the century Indian Territory was changing rapidly, but it left much to be desired in the way of comfortable living. Life in Sapulpa was complicated by streets that were ungraded, muddy in the early spring rains and ankle deep in dust in the summer. The stores stood above the streets on stilt-like foundations with steps leading to the platform porches in front of them. It was quite a feat for the ladies to shop from one store to another, struggling with their long skirts, children, bundles, and market baskets. [1] So, incidentally, O. M. Irelan had an opportunity to buy the Sapulpa *Light,* [2] because its owner's wife, Mrs. Will Winch, longed to get back to Kansas City where "everything's up to date." [3]

Most Sapulpa yards, however, were large enough for a big family garden and many families owned chickens and kept a cow. The gardens provided seasonal food luxuries, such as strawberries, muskmelons, watermelons, and roasting ears, and small orchards and grape arbors provided the winter's canned fruit and jelly. In this new country where men were trying to set up their businesses and raise their families at the same time, home grown food was almost an economic necessity.

Game was also abundant, including quail, pheasants, prairie chickens, deer, squirrels, rabbits, and wild turkeys. A good hunting dog was a prize possession. The creeks were clear and full of fish to be caught for sport or for the family larder. Hunting in Indian Territory was quite a "tourist" attraction in those days and the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway advertised the area as the hunter's paradise. Congress passed game laws applying specifically to Indian Territory and "The curious Want to Know", a column in *Twin Territories, The Indian Magazine,* [4] advised a reader that deer season was from November 1, to February 1, without dogs; quail season was from November 15, to February

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[1] Pearl Morrow Miller, "Reminiscenses of an 'Old Timer,'" *Book of Pioneer Stories and Historical Data About Sapulpa.* Sketches and clippings compiled by the members of the Nancy Green Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Sapulpa Library, 1946-1947); hereafter cited as *DAR Scrapbook.*

[2] O. M. Irelan, "First Fifty Years of Sapulpa's Newspapers," *DAR Scrapbook.*

[3] Line from the Lyrics of "Oklahoma," a musical by Rodgers and Hammerstein:

"Everything's up to date in Kansas City,
They've gone about as far as they can go . . ."

[4] *Twin Territories, The Indian Magazine,* Volume 4, No. 8 (August, 1902), p. 246.

Sapulpa Hunters, 1900. Reading right to left: "Dad" Sheppard, J. C. Menifee, Bert Gray, Dr. John S. McAllister, John F. Egan, C. E. Warren.

15; turkey season opened November 1, and closed February 1. One of the game laws prohibited the shipment of game out of the territory, [5] and so the butcher shops during the hunting season were hung with dressed game from the expeditions of hunters.

J. C. Menifee often arranged hunts for men with whom he did business in the east. He told the story of how he warned one such group not to shoot any deer with red flannel neckbands, as they were pets of his children, Betty and Newell. But the hunters were careless, and in their kill that day they found they had accidentally shot two deer with red flannel collars. They were sorry and offered to pay for them, but Menifee said the important thing was to keep the secret from the children. Betty and Newell did not know for many years that the dressed deer hanging in the Williams Meat Market across the street from their father's store were their pets. [6]

Indian Territory was an exciting land to grow up in, although somewhat difficult for the good parents who sought to rear their children properly. Early on Saturday evenings the residents began pulling down their window shades in anticipation of the usual Saturday night revelry when usually some bad Indians and tough white men found it great sport to shoot at lighted windows. The small community with only United States marshals to maintain order over a wide area soon found itself housing some very unsavory citizens. In Sapulpa a deputy marshal had been employed by the city as early as 1894 to help keep order. [7]

However, against the threatening dangers of "bad men" activities, there were the many advantages of the freedom of a small village. It did not take long to reach a field near town, where there was good hunting for a boy (or girl) and dog. Polecat Creek and Rock Creek were nearby for fishing, swimming, and picnicking. Moccasin Track's sandstone ledge was a favorite place for white and Indian boys from Euchee to dig for arrowheads and to camp out. [8] This spot was also an attraction for many visitors and a favorite picnic area for all.

Pianos and musical instruments were expensive and therefore scare. "Dad" Smith's wife, Polly, had an organ she had carefully brought with her from Kansas, and Dr. J. S. McAllister

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[5] *Sapulpa, Indian Territory; Natural Division Point of the Great Frisco System; Resources, Development, Surroundings and Future Prospects;* compiled by the Sapulpa Real Estate Company, 1903, Sapulpa *Democrat* Print, Sapulpa, Ind. Ter.; hereafter cited as *Sapulpa, Indian Territory, 1903.*

[6] A newspaper interview with Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Menifee, Sapulpa *Herald,* August 22, 1948.

[7] Sal Veder, "Sapulpa" Tulsa *Daily World,* July 17, 1955.

[8] Interview, John Barnett, Muskogee, August 16, 1954.

held the first Union Sunday School in the summer of 1894 [9] at their hotel because the Smiths let him use the organ. [10] Hall Miller started a band which was much in demand. But if musical instruments were scarce, declamatory talent was abundant. Every child could learn a poem or speech with proper gestures. Sapulpa had two gifted elocution teachers: Pearl Morrow Miller (Mrs. H. C.) and Myrtle McDougal (Mrs. D. A.), and their pupils were called on to perform at school and church affairs, and community celebrations, such as the Fourth of July and the annual Christmas parties. These first Christmas parties were given by local merchants, but later became community sponsored affairs. [11] They were looked forward to with great excitement by children of all ages.

Men, women, and children alike enjoyed horseback riding. Not everyone could afford to keep a pony or horse, but the livery stable did a thriving business renting horses for riding or driving with carriages. Horse racing at special events, such as fairs and the Fourth of July celebrations, was always included on the program. The latter was a two-to-four-day affair. An arbor to offer cool shade usually was set up on the main street with free barbeque for everyone. In 1897, the first year the Whitakers were in Sapulpa, the star attraction on the Fourth of July was a horse race for the ladies. Mrs. John F. Egan caused quite a stir by riding astride her horse. [12] Mrs. Charles Whitaker rode a borrowed horse and her husband was so grateful that she did not have an accident on a strange horse that he later bought her one. Whether the horses were borrowed or owned was of no concern to the lady, who felt that she cut a fancy figure dressed in the traditional red, white and blue. [13] Hall Miller's band led the parade and played later for the pleasure of picnicking groups of friends and neighbors. Other activities included square dancing, and a speech by the mayor and patriotic orations by local dignitaries. [14]

The 1900 Fourth of July program was climaxed by a Queen's parade and coronation ceremony. Pearl Morrow was elected queen, [15] and she selected six matrons of honor and six maids of honor to share her glory. Some of the names of these ladies

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[9] J. D. Menifee, "A Few Early Day Happenings in and around Sapulpa, by a Pioneer," *DAR Scrapbook.*

[10] A newspaper interview with Mrs. Hattie Smith McKellop, Sapulpa, Sapulpa *Herald,* July 18, 1948.

[11] Maude Whitaker Harmony, "I Remember When — in Sapulpa", *DAR Scrapbook.*

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] Mary Menifee Whitaker, "A Pioneer Story", *DAR Scrapbook.*

[14] Maude Whitaker Harmony, *op. cit.*

[15] Interview, Roberta Miller Croston (Mrs. Merwyn), Tulsa, Oklahoma, September 6, 1956.

have been forgotten but pioneers remembered Mesdames J. F. Egan, B. L. Baldwin and Charles Whitaker among the matrons of honor, and the Misses Blanch Burnett and Auriola Burns as maids of honor. All wore regal costumes obtained in St. Louis by Hall Miller. A platform was built in front of the Ripley Hotel for the coronation of the "Queen of the Territory." The queen's float was drawn by six white horses. When the parade started north of the tracks, the train crew pulled a practical joke on the young mayor, Hall Miller, and managed to switch a train into the way just as the parade was ready to cross the tracks. Despite the delay, however, the parade finally reached the hotel, and Miss Morrow ascended the platform to stand between Confederate and Union veterans with drawn swords. She received an ovation from the hundreds of people gathered from miles around, but one tipsy cowboy was heard to threaten to shoot her because he wanted no "royalty" in the territory. But all went well, and Mrs. Charles Whitaker sang "God Save the Queen" to close the ceremony. [16]

On June 30, 1905, the Sapulpa *Light* ran a full page advertisement of the "Grand Celebration" to be held at Highland Park, Moccasin Tracks Cliff, for two days, July 4 and 5. The speakers of the day were to be Mayor H. M. Watchorn, Judge Sam P. Jennings, Hon. Ira C. Perkins, L. B. Jackson, J. J. Jones, J. J. Mars, W. P. Root, and C. C. Warren. The amusements offered to make it a big celebration were baseball games, Indian stomp dances, brass band music, horse races, dancing in a pavilion, roping contests, and a greased pole contest. Big prizes for winners in all events were offered. Gas lights would illuminate the park, and fireworks were to be displayed nightly.

These traditional Fourth of July celebrations, which were characteristic of the early 1900's in Indian Territory, had a frontier quality unique to this area.

Enthusiasm ran high in Sapulpa in 1906. With Glenn Pool now famous, the people could not do enough to boost their city. When the Commercial Club formed the bridge corporation to finance the Rock Creek bridge to Glenn Pool, several benefits were given to augment the bridge fund. One group of boosters sponsored a ball game, the Leans versus the Fats. Every business closed. Even the post office closed because Postmaster Bill Bayless was the captain of the Leans. The Fats' captain was Lafe Spear, abstract man and local orator. Darkness ended the game, but it was a success because the game earned seventy-nine dollars for the bridge. [17]

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[16] Pearl Morrow Miller, *op. cit.;* letter, Mayme Brentlinger Clark to writer, July 10, 1952.

[17] Sapulpa *Light,* May 18, 1906.

1776 **JULY 4** 1905

GRAND CELEBRATION

TWO BIG DAYS

Tuesday and Wednesday

JULY 4 & 5

AT HIGHLAND PARK

The Moccasin Tracks Cliff

SAPULPA, I. T.

Speakers of the Day

Address of Welcome
Mayor H. M. Watchorn
Judge Samp Jennings
Hon. Ira C. Perkins
Hon. L. B. Jackson
Hon. Henry Clay King
Hon. J. J. Jones C. H. R.
Hon. J. J. Mars
Hon. W. P. Root
Hon. C. C. Warren

Amusements of the Day

Base Ball Games
Indian Stomp Dances
Horse Races
Dancing Pavilon
Roping Contests
Golf, Croquet, Tennis
Greased Pole, Sack Races, Wheelbarrow Races, Egg Races, etc.
Big Prizes for Winners

GRAND ILLUMINATION BY GAS NIGHTLY

MUSIC BY CHANDLER BRASS BAND

BIG INDIAN WAR DANCE

Day and Night. Participated in by Fifty Gaudily Painted Indians---Don't Miss It

DISPLAY OF FIREWORKS NIGHTLY

From Top of the Cliff--Two Hundred Feet High

REDUCED RATES ON ALL RAILROADS AND CARRIAGE LINES

ROUND TRIP FROM THE CITY TO GROUNDS, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

Sapulpa Newspaper Advertisement for Celebration on July 4, 1905.

Then there were the activities of the ladies auxiliary to the Commercial Club. Their biggest project was to give two chicken dinners, for which all the food was donated by the women of Sapulpa. The two dinners raised four hundred dollars for the fund. They also gave a benefit ball and ran refreshment booths. [18]

In April of 1906 John M. Weeks had been elected mayor, [19] and his daughter Grace was selected to christen the new bridge when it was completed in the last week of August. Two thousand people gathered to watch the parade and bridge dedication. It was a fitting celebration to culminate the efforts of Sapulpans who had met the need of the city's newest industry, oil.

Organized labor was strong in Sapulpa with the Frisco railroad employing a large majority of the town's breadwinners, and the Farmers Union was an active and powerful political force. Hence, Labor Day was another occasion for well attended parades, picnics, and speeches.

The Labor Day of the year 1907 was particularly memorable, as political enthusiasm ran high for and against candidates for the state's and county's first officers. The Farmers Union and the Federated Trades Union held a parade and picnic. The parade, headed by W. F. Collins, president of the Farmers Union, and F. A. Fulp, president of the Retail Clerks Union, included some five hundred representatives of bricklayers, stone masons, and carpenters unions. At the picnic, following the parade, leading candidates made speeches. L. B. Jackson was running for county attorney and his speech was considered the feature of the day. He was complimented for his ability as an orator and lawyer, but especially for his knowledge of the history of labor unions. His election was urged by the editor of the *Democrat* so that Creek County would be represented by one of the most able lawyers in the Creek Nation. [20]

Although the oil boom days brought lantern slide shows, the nickelodeon, and later the silent movies, there was still a preference for activities which involved large groups of people getting together to extoll or demonstrate the wonders of a new town in a growing state. As late as 1915, there were three events which emphasied the frontier atmosphere still found in Sapulpa. In February the State Bankers Convention met in Sapulpa, and a reception for the ladies attending was held in Mrs. L. B. Jackson's home, 16 North Poplar. [21] The program of entertain-

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18 Daisy Daubin Irelan, "Memories of Early Sapulpa," *DAR Scrapbook.*

19 Sapulpa *Light,* April 6, 1906.

20 Sapulpa *Democrat,* September 3, 1907.

21 Mrs. L. B. Jackson (Pearl Burk), (1880-1961) was a leading woman in Sapulpa club activities, especially PEO in which she held

ment also included a ball at the Elks Club and a trip to Kiefer, in the heart of Glenn Pool, on the interurban. The comment was made of this Kiefer trip that there was not another car line in the world which had the fascinating scenery which bordered the Sapulpa-Kiefer tracks. [22]

The State Firemen's Convention was a week-long event in May, 1915. An area in the residential district was roped off to allow for practice runs and races. The whole town, but especially the children, had a rare time watching the hose stringing contests and the black and brown horse teams racing down the street answering an imagined alarm. [23]

County fairs had been planned in Creek County but never held until the one in September, 1915. John F. Egan was president of the fair and J. W. Colvin, secretary. Many beautiful booths were decorated by the merchants, and Better Babies Contest with 125 entrants was judged by local physicians. The Humane Society raised funds by attracting persons to its booth with free ice cream donated by the Union Ice Company, while the county demonstrators showed how country schools could teach domestic science. There was an Art Hall, a weight guessing contest of a huge home grown pumpkin, style shows, and a talking machine. [24] And among the many prizes of the day was a diamond lavaliere.

World War I marked the end of much of the isolation and need for a strong community spirit. Sapulpa worked hard during the war. The men served their town at home in war bond drives and abroad on the field of battle. [25] The women gave unstintingly of their time and effort in Red Cross work.

Many cultural and civic activities of the community were met by the women of Sapulpa from the earliest times. As men-

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many offices including state president. See footnotes #36 and #37. Mrs. Jackson was also a business woman who managed her own business affairs all her life. She was an excellent legal secretary and held the position of court reporter in the Western Judicial District of Indian Territory. In the early days of the oil business there were no printed lease forms, and Mrs. Jackson's ability to take shorthand was in constant demand by many oil men to make out the various and varying lease agreements.

See *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* xxiv (Summer, 1946), pp. 240-241 for biography of L. B. Jackson.

22 Sapulpa *Herald,* February 23, 1915.

23 *Ibid.,* May 22, 1915.

24 *Ibid.,* September 18, 1915. Merchants exhibiting were King's Kash Koncern, Sapulpa Bottling Works, Katz Department Store, Willis-Creegan Hardware, Sapulpa Music Company, Van Orman's Grocery, Cootee's Ladies Wear, Warful Millinery, and Ladies Wear, Kaufman and Mayer, Cowman's Pharmacy, and Allen Lumber Company.

25 *Maude Whitaker Harmony Scrapbook,* a collection of unorganized clippings (Sapulpa Public Library, Sapulpa, Oklahoma); hereafter cited in this study as *Harmony Scrapbook.*

tioned earlier, the first cultural group to be organized was the Social and Literary Society, which was formed in 1897 with Mrs. P. B. France as president. [26] This club was also interested in civic projects. It was responsible for providing a watering trough for horses on Main Street. Also, when the Frisco was securing a new right-of-way in 1899, the ladies prevailed upon Mayor McAllister to move the town cemetery which they had fenced and cared for.

In 1901 Mrs. Charles Whitaker was elected as the first president of the Ladies' Library Club. [27] This club carried on money raising projects by sponsoring teas, plays, bazaars, tag days, and baseball games. In one year the club had accumulated enough money to build a library building on the lot given to them by a Mr. Harsell and a Mr. Lazarus at 100 South Water Street. They purchased 150 volumes as a beginning stock for circulation. J. F. Egan, J. O. Hereford, John Sinco, and J. H. Fuller were listed among the first individual donors of books. This organization supported the library until 1917, when through its members' untiring efforts [28] it became a Carnegie Foundation Library. In 1918 it was moved to its present building at Dewey and Poplar streets, where a community center was provided in its basement auditorium.

The young people, too, formed their clubs. In May, 1903, a group met in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Summers to begin the Atoka Club. "Atoka" was a Creek word meaning "I labor on." Their purpose was to study good literature, give debates, and enjoy friendly good times. They celebrated holidays together, held picnics, and went on moonlight hayrides. Some friendships begun during these club activities blossomed into romances. For example, Edna Staats and Charles Wolfe were married, as were Daisy Daubin and O. M. Irelan. By 1910 the club was disbanded, however, because many of its members were married and were busy in their home and in expanded community affairs. [29]

In 1903 the Lucile Opera House was built, in which the first and second floors were the Indian Territorial offices and court-

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[26] Interview and correspondence, Mrs. C. W. Harmony (Maude Whitaker), Sapulpa, Oklahoma, August 6, 1954. Other members compiled by Mrs. Harmony were Mesdames J. S. McAllister, J. C. Menifee, John Egan, Charles Whitaker, P. J. Hogland, Charles Crane, Frank Clark, Joseph Gillette. Also a Mrs. Grinstead and Mrs. Paul.

[27] Interview and letter, Mrs. C. W. Harmony, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, August 6, 1954. Charter members were Mesdames Charles Whitaker, H. C. Abbott, John Egan, B. S. Baldwin, P. B. France, Ed Brodie, C. B. Rickey, J. O. Hereford, W. P. Root, Robert Whelan, H. C. Miller, M. E. Plumstead, and Florence Rundell.

[28] Sapulpa *Light*, May 24, 1910.

[29] Daisy D. Irelan, *op. cit.* (See Notes and Documents this issue of *The Chronicles* for "The Place Name Atoka."—Ed.)

Social and Literary Society, 1898. Bottom, first row, left to right: Mrs. J. S. McAllister, Mrs. John Egan; second row, Mrs. Paul (in dark dress), Mrs. P. J. Hoagland, Mrs. J. C. Menifee, Mrs. Charles Crane; third row, top, Mrs. Grimstead, Mrs. P. J. France, (President), Mrs. Frank Clark, Mrs. Charles Whitaker, Mrs. Joseph Gillette.

house, and the third floor was a ballroom into which seats were placed to create an auditorium or "Op'ry House." It was used for many home talent shows, recitals, benefit balls, high school graduation exercises, and convention meetings.

The Sapulpa Symphony Club sponsored the appearance of celebrities at the Lucile Opera House or the Empire Theater.[30] This club was formed in 1906 under the leadership of Mrs. J. J. Parmlee, who was an accomplished violinist. It federated with the Indian Territory Federated Women's Clubs in 1906, and joined the Organization of Music Clubs and the National Federation of Music Clubs in 1917. The club held regular meetings, presenting musical programs by its members. Once a year a concert was given, and at Easter a vespers program was presented. The money earned from concerts and other entertainments was used to purchase a grand piano, which was presented to the Public Library for the community center soon after the completion of the Carnegie building in 1917. A few years later the Sapulpa Symphony Club was disbanded.[31]

The Reading Club is today the oldest active women's club in Sapulpa. It was formed in 1905 and helped organize the City Federation of Women's Clubs, with which it was affiliated in 1906. Its purpose was to study classical literature, the fine arts of the world, and current events and government. The first president was Mrs. Lena C. Dornblazer. Other officers were Mrs. Anna Linzee, vice-president, and Mrs. Alice M. Denton, Secretary-treasurer.[32] There were twenty-two charter members. Today the club and its functions have so grown that it is necessary to divide the work among committees for program, legislation, nominations, and finance.[33]

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30 Sapulpa *Democrat,* September 4, 1907. An announcement of the appearance of Miss Florence Doggett, harpist of Chicago Conservatory of Music on September 10, sponsored by the Sapulpa Symphony Club. Other attractions were Maude Powell, Paul Althouse, Lucey Gates, and Helen Keller. After 1907, the Lucile Opera House space was used for state offices. By 1909, the Van Orman's Opera House was in use.

31 Interview and letter, Mrs. C. W. Harmony, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, August 6, 1954. Mrs. Harmony compiled a list of members of the club during the first years naming Mesdames J. J. Parmlee, E. P. Baxter, P. M. Castanian, W. C. Hodges, Clyde Robinson, Emery Jennings, H. McFann, H. Fortney, C. J. Baugh, Jennie Graham, Henri Walter, W. H. Odell, Claude Masters, W. E. Loucks, and W. K. Cantrell. Also Misses Fannie Dingman, Hazel Harrington, Esther Wilkonson, Ina Ladd, Ester Hillerman, Myrtle McDougal and Maude Whitaker.

Also Mesdames J. A. Fulp, Winona Graham, Frank Mars, Marie Farham, E. R. Unger, Bert De Lozier, A. P. Crawford and Nan Hoon. And Misses Bettie Menifee and Nettie Pfleger.

32 Daisy Daubin Irelan, *op. cit.*

33 Interview and letter, Mrs. O. M. Irelan, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, August 23, 1954. Charter members were Mesdames A. R. Burnett, Alice M. Cheshire, Effie B. Crawford, Sarah DeLano, Alice M. Denton, Anna

The Lucile Opera House was the meeting place of the first and only convention of the Indian Territory Federation of Women's Clubs. At a called meeting in November, 1906, the representatives of Sapulpa's women's clubs met with Mrs. Charles Whitaker to organize the city federation. They elected Myrtle McDougal (Mrs. D. A.) president, and she with fellow officers [34] spent a year preparing for the convention held in November, 1907, when Mrs. McDougal was elected president of the Indian Territory Federation of Women's Clubs. The following year the convention met in Ardmore to amalgamate the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory organizations into one state club federation. Mrs. McDougal represented the Indian Territory as past president, and Mrs. John Threadgill represented the Oklahoma Territory in the same capacity. In 1909 and 1910, Sapulpa club women and Mrs. McDougal continued to lead the state organization. Mrs. McDougal was elected vice-president in 1909 and president in 1910. Mrs. Charles Whitaker was chairman of the state library committee, which did much to provide public circulating libraries in the early days of statehood. [35]

The PEO, Chapter G, a secret lodge for women, was organized June 21, 1907, by Louise K. Schmidt (Mrs. Louis) and Pearl B. Jackson (Mrs. L. B.). In 1906, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Schmidt were visited by Mrs. Winona Reeves, Organizer for Supreme Chapter, who suggested that the two ladies organize a Sapulpa chapter. They agreed and selected the nine charter members from different groups so as to have a varied representation in the town. The nine women each held an office in the charter group after they were initiated and installed by Mrs. Reeves. [36] In 1909 the organizing convention of the Oklahoma chapter was held in Okeene. Mrs. Schmidt and Emma Noble (Mrs. E. S.) served on the committee which framed the state bylaws, and Mrs. Schmidt was elected as the first state recording secretary. [37] In 1910 Chapter G, Sapulpa, entertained the first state convention, at which Mrs. Reeves, then president of the

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L. Dillon, Hilda M. Hurd, Daisy D. Irelan, Earl D. Johannes, Etta Kinnaird, Enna E. Linzee, Elizabeth P. Mason, Myrtle McDougal, Minnie Parmlee, Minnie E. Rice, Louise Schmidt, Florence A. Unger, Elizabeth S. White.

[34] Sapulpa *Democrat,* November 15, 1906.

[35] Sapulpa *Light,* November 3, 1908; November 6, 1909; November 3, 1910.

[36] *Ibid.* Charter members and officers: Louise K. Schmidt (Mrs. Louis), president; Pearl B. Jackson (Mrs. L. B.), vice-president Alice Cheshire (Mrs. F. H.), recording secretary; Alice Denton (Mrs. J. O.), Corresponding secretary; Effie Crawford (Mrs. A. P.), treasurer; Emma Noble (Mrs. E. S.), chaplain; Dannie Burnett (Mrs. B. B.), guard; Ethel Lenhard (Mrs. P. J.), journalist; Elizabeth Mason (Mrs. R. E.), musician.

[37] Letter, Mrs. C. W. Harmony, to writer, August 6, 1954. Mesdames Schmidt, Noble and Jackson served one-year terms as state presidents.

Supreme Chapter, was the honored guest and main speaker, and Mrs. L. B. Jackson gave the welcoming address at the Presbyterian Church. The PEO, Chapter G., one of the oldest chapters in the state of Oklahoma, also sponsored a new chapter in Sapulpa in 1947, Chapter D. T. This sisterhood has contributed to the community's and state's betterment by many philanthropic and educational grants.

In the fall of 1912 Mrs. E. A. Matton was appointed by the state regent to act as organizing regent in Sapulpa for a prospective chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. On February 24, 1913, an initial meeting was held in the home of Mrs. Frank Smith, where the eighteen charter members elected Mrs. Matton as their first regent.[38] The name Nancy Green was chosen for their chapter in honor of a common ancestor of four of the members: Mrs. Smith, Mrs. R. B. Thompson, and Misses Mary and Myrtle McDougal. The first money earned by this patriotic organization was given to the Red Cross. In both World Wars it contributed time and money to aid the Red Cross. In Sapulpa they purchased the Sapulpa family burial ground south of the city as a worthy historical site. Medals are given each year to students in high school who excel in American History. Also, a citation is awarded to the outstanding girl who is judged meritorious for good citizenship. Later, in 1924, the Martha McBride chapter of the Children of the American Revolution was formed by Mrs. W. E. Darner (Bettie Menifee).

Many organizations formed in Sapulpa since statehood have disbanded because their purposes were realized, because of lack of interest, or because of a change in public opinion. The Ku Klux Klan was one of the groups affected by public opinion. A partial list of once thriving clubs includes the Gun Club, the Eagles, the Law Enforcement League, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Humane Society, the Grand Army of the Republic, the Railroad Y.M.C.A., and the Retail Merchants Association.[39]

Early "society" in Sapulpa began in 1903 with the organization of the Tuesday Club, which was formed to sponsor euchre, whist, and later bridge parties. It was federated with the city women's clubs in 1906 and was not disbanded until the middle

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[38] *Ibid.* Charter members were Mesdames W. D. Richardson, Ruby Nicholas, Frank Smith, E. R. Unger, J. B. Thompson, Alice Weidner, Vassa Workman, Christina Maddox, Hattie Trotter; and Misses Fay Cantrell, Myrtle McDougal, and Mary McDougal.

[39] Sapulpa *Light,* January 1, 1909; January 26, 1909; September 8, 1909; *Hoffine's Sapulpa, Oklahoma Directory, 1928* (Kansas City, Missouri: Hoffine Directory Company, 1928).

1930's.[40] The Morning Bridge Club was active for many years, too.[41] The Sapulpa Country Club was enjoyed for a few years, but disbanded in the 1930's. The Oaks Country Club which lies about half-way between Sapulpa and Tulsa now has about twenty Sapulpa families in its membership.[42]

The men and women of Sapulpa organized chapters in practically all orders of lodge work. The Masonic orders and the I.O.O.F. were particularly popular, and the ladies organized corresponding auxiliaries. The Eastern Star and the Modern Woodmen of America have always been active groups since statehood, also. The Elks built a club building on South Popular Street, which served its members and was made available to the community as a meeting place.[43]

Probably the oldest civic men's group was the Sapulpa Commercial Club of 1903 which had seventy-five members with J. G. Davis acting as secretary.[44] Just before statehood, a Commercial Club was reorganized to meet the problems of the expanding Glenn oil pool and the Frisco Railroad, and to lay the groundwork in the ill-fated campaign to make Sapulpa the county seat in the new state. In 1906, James H. Fisher was president and James J. Mars was secretary. The ladies also organized an active auxiliary to aid their menfolk.[45]

In April, 1907, fifty businessmen organized a "$25,000 Club" to boost the town. A. P. Cederford was president, Walter Martin was temporary secretary and an executive secretary was being sought.[46] But soon this group was succeeded by the Business Men's League, with W. M. Watchorn as president and Theo G. Lenimon as Secretary. Their purposes, as set forth by President Watchorn to the forty members, were to locate new industries in Sapulpa without begging for money. The plan was to purchase the Timmie Fite land, plot it, and sell it for the money needed to build the electric line. This was done. The group also induced a glass company to build a factory in Sapulpa. And a

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40 Faye Reece Dunlap, "History of Sapulpa Society Dates Back to Whist Players of Tuesday Club First Organized Here in 1903," Sapulpa *Herald,* October 9, 1935.

41 Sapulpa *Light,* May 20, 1909. This was the date of the first meeting.

42 Hoffine's Sapulpa, Oklahoma Directory, 1928, *op. cit.*; interview, Mrs. C. W. Harmony's Sapulpa, Oklahoma, June 20, 1956; Mr. J. M. Moore, Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 21, 1956.

43 *Ibid.;* Sapulpa *Light,* January 11, 1909.

44 Sapulpa *Light,* April 10, 1909.

45 Sapulpa *Democrat,* March 1, 1906; July 12, 1906.

46 *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman,* April 17, 1907; Sapulpa *Democrat,* May 17, 1907.

refinery, the Sapulpa Refining Company, was begun at this time.[47]

The Commercial Club was reorganized in February, 1908, with R. B. Dingman as president and H. F. Klagge as secretary. Its members were stockholders whose money made up the bonuses offered to industries to come to Sapulpa. At this time a packing plant was being planned with financiers of St. Louis. The club also held a Greater Sapulpa Carnival early in 1909, to boost the town, increase retail sales, and earn money enough to entertain the St. Louis businessmen.

The next big industry offered Sapulpa was a steel rolling mill. Again the club sold lots to raise funds to support it. But Ross Dingman became discouraged with their progress and offered his resignation as president. His resignation was refused, because it was pointed out that the "general apathy" of which Dingman complained was the usual thing with each Commercial Club Sapulpa had ever had, and the members felt this club had the best record of any.[48]

Late in 1909 and in 1910 two groups worked toward a greater Sapulpa, as the first Chamber of Commerce joined the Commercial Club in this enterprise. W. B. Stone was president of the Chamber of Commerce and Byron Snyder was the secretary. The Commercial Club was still active, with Dingman and Klagge in charge. The two groups met together early in December but their differences could not be compromised and the two groups continued separately to boost projects they felt most important. The Chamber of Commerce worked very hard to raise a bonus which would persuade the Midland Valley Railroad to enter Sapulpa. The Commercial Club worked equally hard to bring in the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe.

All the efforts and money spent by these citizens came to almost nothing. Their troubles were compounded by the hard times of 1907-1913, when the Sapulpa banks, bankers, and individuals were hard pressed financially. The Farmers and Merchants Bank closed temporarily in 1907, and it closed for all time in September, 1912. In the meantime, the Creek County

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[47] *Ibid.*, August 31, 1907; September 7, 1907; September 9, 1907; September 12, 1907; September 13, 1907; September 25, 1907; December 5, 1907; October 11, 1909, editorial which told chronologically the efforts of citizens to bring industry to Sapulpa (1900-1909).

[48] Sapulpa *Light*, July 24, 1909; October 11, 1909. $150,000 was raised for a packing plant and interurban. Citizens also voted school bonds and necessary public utilities; January 7, 1909.

Bank and Trust Company had been started, closed, reorganized, and sold to open as the Oklahoma State Bank, only to close its doors once more. [49]

Besides the bank failures, the Sapulpa Packing Company closed and the steel rolling mill failed before it was actually completed. The interurban from Sapulpa to Kiefer ran for the first time October 31, 1910, but proved to be another "white elephant" to its backers.

These depression times caught up with the town, which had overspeculated, oversubscribed, and overestimated the potentials in the rapidly changing, competitive situation of a new state. The bank guaranty law, even when amended, failed to halt the financial slide, and only World War I restored good times.

The depressed times in Sapulpa did not discourage the women. The Ladies' Commercial Club was organized May 28, 1912, with seventy members. Its activities in publicizing the needs of the community were so outstanding that a St. Louis paper wrote a story concerning their successful campaign for a bond issue to provide an adequate water supply.

Again in 1915 a reorganization of the Sapulpa Commercial Club occurred, and it was incorporated. Then the Commercial Club was disbanded to form the Sapulpa Chamber of Commerce on March 21, 1920. The Women's Chamber of Commerce was formed in 1927 [50] Today, there is also a Junior Chamber of Commerce.

In addition, several other successful and active clubs continue to contribute to the city's welfare and culture. The Current Events Club is an evening group of married couples, many of whom have met together regularly since the club's founding in 1916. The Salvation Army has been active for many years in Sapulpa. The American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars have posts to provide help and entertainment for their members. The Business and Professional Women's Club and the Sapulpa Business Men's Association meet regularly. [51] The Fraternity of

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[49] Sapulpa *Democrat,* November 21, 1907; Bristow *Record,* September 13, 1912; Sapulpa *Democrat,* September 24, 1907; Bristow *Record,* December 29, 1911; January 17, 1913.

[50] Letter, Mrs. C. W. Harmony, to writer, August 6, 1954. Directors: W. E. Brown, George Wilmarth, C. J. Benson, F. E. Gates, J. W. Graves, J. K. Welch, A. O. Wilkinson, E. E. Cowman; secretary engaged, J. H. N. Cobb.

Charter members of the women's organization were Mesdames E. R. Unger, W. P. Longmire, C. C. Taylor, B. C. Stivers, E. B. Mathews, Maude Miller, E. M. Sweeney, R. R. Wallace, Thomas S. Harris, Arthur Lawrence, and Misses Mamie Jones and Esther Wilkonson.

[51] *Polk's Sapulpa (Creek County, Oklahoma) City Directory, 1951* (Dallas: R. L. Polk and Company, publishers, 1951); Daisy D. Irelan, *op. cit.*

the Wooden Leg is a unique organization which was begun by Sapulpan Augusta Weaver. She lost her own leg, but with her misfortune she found time and talent to write a little paper of encouragement toward the rehabilitation of others, who, like her, faced life with a wooden leg. [52] The active men's luncheon clubs are the Kiwanis, Lions, and Rotary. The Rotary Anns, the women's auxiliary, are active also.

The pioneer settlers of Sapulpa like to recall the charter members who signed the petition for incorporation of the town in 1898. [53] Under the original charter the mayor-council form of government served the town until 1910, at which time the city adopted the commission form of government. [54] Today the city is operated under the city manager-commission form of government which was adopted in 1922. [55]

The problems these governments and their officials were required to manage were not unusual for their times. There were franchises to be awarded for gas and later for electric lights. A municipal water plant was a constant problem as the city's growth and industrial expansion made greater demands. Board sidewalks were replaced with brick and then concrete, and dusty or muddy streets were gradually paved. Ordinances concerning such matters as health, speed of delivery wagons and later automobiles, spitting on the streets, and the handling of stray animals were numerous and necessary.

Indian Territory did have one problem which was unique in the controversies it caused. The early day marshal's biggest job was to enforce the prohibition of liquor sales. After statehood this task became a bitter pill for county and city officials throughout Oklahoma. The prohibition clause to the Oklahoma Constitution had passed in 1907 by a narrow margin and its enforcement aroused factions which warred constantly. If a city or county official became unpopular for any reason, it was always possible to show him lax in enforcing prohibition and to make

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[52] Interview, Augusta Weaver, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, July 7, 1954.

[53] Sapulpa *Herald,* February 6, 1915. The following citizens joined in petition to the federal court at Muskogee to grant incorporation to the town of Sapulpa, I. T., in 1898: John Egan, J. C. Menifee, J. Wisdom, J. T. Gillette, Charles Whitaker, H. A. Booth, S. S. Unsell, James C. Smith, Alfred May, C. D. Harvey, S. C. Nigh, J. W. Elswick, O. M. Gilbert, R. M. Powell, H. C. Miller, A. L. Hay, O. C. Crane, Charles T. McAllister, J. C. Edwards, G. F. McLendon, P. B. France, Frank Clark and Fred F. Smith.

[54] Sapulpa *Light,* September 28, 1910.

[55] Interview, John S. Egan, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, September 6, 1956. Mr. Egan is city clerk and the son of John F. Egan, pioneer Sapulpan; copy of the *Charter of the City of Sapulpa,* adopted April, 1922, with amendments thereto.

the case stronger for his defeat at the next election. In Sapulpa this happened shortly after statehood in the name calling between Bristow and Sapulpa during the county seat contest. [56]

Late in 1908, a Rev. E. J. Bulgin toured the new state of Oklahoma in a series of revivals to urge the towns to clean out the gambling halls, the saloons, and other places. Dr. Bulgin declared in a sermon in Sapulpa, "If twenty-five of your men will stand behind me for three weeks, we will run the devil out of town, and I don't care what the sheriff, prosecuting attorney, or the town officials do!" [57] These Sapulpa revival meetings started a number of cleanup drives.

As late as 1915 and 1916 the battle for reform was carried on by the Sapulpa *Herald.* [58] The *Herald* office was bombed on May 15, 1915, after a bitter exchange of editorials with the *Argus* [59] on the issue of cleaning out the gamblers and bootleggers. An investigation was held, but no prosecutions resulted. This was closely followed by the election of a reform mayor, W. B. Stone. His apparently accidental death soon after his election was the source of much comment and speculation. [60]

The churches and schools played an active role in the betterment and growth of the community. The first church in Sapulpa was the Methodist Episcopal, South, established in 1895. [61] By 1903, the Baptist, [62] the Presbyterian, [63] and the Methodist

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[56] See the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* (Spring, 1962), pp. 55-73 for a print of Chapter II of this account, "The Sapulpa and Bristow County Seat Contest."

[57] Sapulpa *Light,* November 14, 1908.

[58] O. M. Irelan, *op. cit.* In September of 1914, O. S. Todd, John W. Young, and O. M. Irelan (former owner and editor of the *Light* from 1903-1909) took over the plant of the *Democrat* to begin the *Herald.* In 1944, Mr. R. P. Matthews purchased the *Herald* from the John Young estate. In 1949, the present owner, Ed Livemore, became owner.

[59] *Ibid.* The *Argus* was published by James D. Flynn of Sapulpa (who was not related to the first territorial delegate to Congress by the same name). He first bought and published the *Democrat* (1907). He then changed the name to the *Argus;* then to the *American;* and again to the *Argus* by April, 1914, when the argument between the editors ensued.

[60] Interview, O. M. Irelan, Sapulpa, Oklahoma, July 1, 1954.

[61] Mayor Ira C. Perkins' Speech, 1903, *DAR Scrapbook;* J. C. Menifee, *op. cit.* A Reverend Pope was the first pastor. A Union Sunday School had met in the Frisco waiting room in the summer of 1894. J. C. Menifee said the South Methodist was organized in 1894.

[62] *Ibid.* Reverend W. A. King was the first minister. The Baptist Church was organized in 1895.

[63] *Ibid.* The church was built by the efforts of J. C. Menifee and it was organized in 1895.

Episcopal [64] had organized and built churches. The Christian Church met in a temporary meeting place until it built a church home in 1905.

By the time statehood was proclaimed for Oklahoma there were several new denominations to meet the needs and beliefs of citizens of the growing town. The Episcopal Church had organized. The Catholics held services conducted by a Tulsa priest in the Denton Building until a church was built in 1908. And by this time the Negroes had built a Baptist Church in their neighborhood. Most of these original churches moved to larger churches as the congregations grew. Some of them split to form new churches of their faith. New fundamentalist denominations started as the town grew to be a factory center. These workers were interested church members and the church became an important community center as well as a place of worship. At present there are in Sapulpa twenty-five churches of fourteen denominations. [65]

One of the biggest problems of Indian Territory days was that of providing schools for the non-citizens' white children. The Indians founded elementary schools and academies for their children with tribal funds, and by 1904 provisions were made to extend schooling to the white settlers' children in these Indian institutions; however, it remained a paper provision which could not materialize because the tribal funds were insufficient to support it. [66]

Faced with these difficulties affecting non-citizens, individuals established the subscription school. In 1894 Miss Cassie Meadows, who had finished the fourth grade, taught in the office of W. A. Smith's livery barn on North Main. A second subscription school was taught by Miss Sina Busset. The third was organized in 1895 by a group of mothers, who raised funds to build the first school building on the ground where the present courthouse is located. [67] There Colonel Ira Dodd taught the first

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[64] *Ibid.* Reverend W. S. Browning was the first pastor.

[65] Sal veder, *op. cit.*

[66] Tulsa *Daily Democrat,* October 21, 1904; Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 294.

[67] Mayor Ira C. Perkins' Speech, 1903, *op. cit.*; interview, Mrs. W. E. Darner (Bettie Menifee), Sapulpa, Oklahoma, April 3, 1955; Sapulpa *Herald,* July 10, 1949; Sapulpa *Light,* February 12, 1909. In this latter article, John Egan related the history of the school board purchase of the Dewey Street property to convince the county commissioners that they pay a fair price for it if they earned a half-block for the new courthouse. He stated that J. C. Menifee, Wm. Whitman, and John Egan had purchased the land from Euchee Jim in 1895 and J. J. Jones and others had helped to keep it for the schools.

Sapulpa Band, 1899

year and Miss Sally Boone the second. The school then was moved to a large room over two stores on Main Street and the number of teachers was increased to four. By Christmas of 1897 Henry Land had completed a two-and-one-half-story building east of the present high school for a school which he called Dewey College. This was the building which was to become Sapulpa's first real public school home. The school board first leased it and later, in 1900, purchased the building and moved it to the school land on Dewey Avenue. [68]

In May, 1902, Congress passed a law enabling towns of 1,000 or more to vote bonds for public schools and water works. Sapulpa was one of the first towns in Indian Territory to avail itself of this opportunity. The Washington School was the result of this first bond money. When the Washington School was completed, it became the high school affectionately called the "Castle." Its first four graduates were Luch Lavins Clark, Floyd T. McMahan, Jennie Myrtle McDougal, and Clifton S. Mitchell. The graduation exercises were held in the Lucile Opera House at eight in the evening of April 19, 1907, seven months before statehood. [69]

The school building program kept in line with the growth of the city. An announcement in the *Light,* October 4, 1909, advised the parents of the opening of school, and concerning the particular school their children should attend in relation to where they lived. Four schools were listed, one of which was for Negro pupils. [70] The school system has continued to grow until today there are ten elementary schools and two junior and senior high schools. [71]

APPENDIX

Sapulpa, Oklahoma, the county seat of Creek County was originally part of the Creek Nation in Indian Territory in present Oklahoma. The Creek Indian for whom Sapulpa was named came alone to join his tribe in their new home about 1833 or 1834. Soon he met and married his first wife, Na Kitty, who bore him three children, James, Hannah, and Sarah. In time, according to the custom of the Creeks, Sapulpa took a second wife, Cho-pok-sa, Na Kitty's sister. Cho-pok-sa had seven children, all of whom died young except Rhoda and William.

The Indian trading village of one store and a blacksmith shop was a stopping point for stages and a pony express before the Civil War. When Sapulpa returned to his ranch after fighting with the Confederacy, few buildings were left standing; the cattle had disappeared, and the tiny trading center was destroyed by fire. He set up

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[68] Mayor Ira C. Perkins' Speech, 1903, *op. cit.;* Sapulpa *Herald,* July 10, 1949.

[69] Sapulpa *Light,* April 19, 1907.

[70] *Ibid.,* October 4, 1909.

[71] Sal Veder, *op. cit.*

a store, obtaining his supplies from Coffeyville, Kansas. But, he was forced to close because of the long wagon haul; and he returned to his cattle business. [72]

In 1886 the Atlantic and Pacific Railway, later the St. Louis and San Francisco, built its tracks ten miles from Red Fork station and the crossing over the Arkansas River. The construction crew built their camp on a site near a spring belonging to Sapulpa. The Engineer, G. F. Huggins, asked Sapulpa to be his guest and first passenger when the train was put into operation to Tulsa; [73] and the station was subsequently named *Sapulpa* in the Creek's honor. [74]

Today Sapulpa is a small but important industrial city. Sapulpa has survived the loss of the division point of the Frisco, for the town has maintained its population level of 1916, when the Frisco first threatened to move its shops. The winning of the county seat from Bristow has assured Sapulpa the prominence in the county and state which the citizens of an earlier day visualized. [75] The present industries are seemingly permanent, having outlasted the serious depression of the 1930's. A second national bank, the growth of new residential areas, and a beautiful new high school indicate the progress of the town.

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[72] William A. Sapulpa, "Sapulpa", *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* iv (March-December, 1926), pp. 330-331.

[73] Indian Pioneer History, *The Grant Foreman Papers* (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, 1937), Volume 101, p. 45.

[74] Charles Newton Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 66.

[75] Pauline P. Jackson, "The Sapulpa and Bristow County Seat Contest", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XL (Spring, 1962), pp. 55-73.

ALBERT ANDREW EXENDINE: CARLISLE COACH AND TEACHER

*By John L. Johnson**

Albert Andrew Exendine first made football history as a player in 1907. He and his running mate, Gardner, and quarterback Pete Hauser, formed the first recognized forward passing combination in modern football, while playing with the Carlisle Indians' team of 1907.

This was my first recollection of "Chief" Exendine, a member of the Delaware Indian tribe, who recently extended to me the courtesy of an interview with him in his home in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on December 10, 1962. A venerable seventy-eight years of age, he related his experiences from the time he first attended Mautame Presbyterian Indian Mission School, Anadarko, Oklahoma, in 1897 until the time he became one of the first graduates of Carlisle Indian School to win fame as a football coach in a major university. He recalled: [1]

> I was born January 27, 1884, in Bartlesville, Indian Territory, and at that time the nearest house to my father's home was a distance of 10 to 12 miles. I attended the Mautame Boarding School in Anadarko where we attended classes and took care of the farm. We would plough, harrow, and cut broom corn a few hours a day and attend classes the rest of the time. While attending Mautame, my friend, Joseph Tremp, and I read an ad in the Anadarko newspaper which stated: "Students wanted for Carlisle Indian School." Joseph Tremp turned to me and said, "Albert, let's go to Carlisle."

Carlisle Indian School was established in 1879. It was the culmination of a dream come true for Lieutenant R. H. Pratt, who had possessed a burning compassion for his red brother and who had held a firm belief in equal educational opportunity for him. The school was established in Carlisle in barracks which had been abandoned by the military department. It was the first educational institution for Indians to be opened by the government and the first to receive congressional appropriation. As Mr. Exendine related: [2]

> It was not all study at the school, for Lieutenant Pratt believed that the Indian should be given the same opportunity for activity that he had experienced as a child on the plains. Running, jumping, in-

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* John L. Johnson completed his paper on Albert Andrew Exendine in the seminar on History of American Education under Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Assistant Professor of Education and History, University of California, Los Angeles, Mr. Johnson holds his B.A. and Ed.D., from UCLA. —Ed.

[1] Statement made to the author by Albert A. Exendine in an interview in Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 10, 1962.

[2] John S. Steckbeck, *Fabulous Redmen* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1951), pp. 4-5.

dividual skills and physical prowess exhibitions were natural with the Indians, and Pratt aimed to foster what came naturally to them. Consequently, the Indian was taught the white man's games and from the very first excelled in them, especially in football. The years to follow saw the Redmen fulfilling the promise they showed from the start for they became the finest players in the land.

Mr. Exendine did not leave immediately for Carlisle as he had to seek the consent of his father. Joseph Tremp proceeded to enroll, and in a few months wrote Albert extolling the virtues of school. Albert then arranged to gain parental approval by persuading his older brother to ask his father's permission to leave the farm for study at the Indian School. The elder Exendine instructed the older son to proceed to Anadarko and obtain all the necessary information he could about the institution. Albert's brother was informed that all of his expenses would be paid at the school, including transportation, with the understanding that he must remain in school for a minimum period of five years. This did not particularly appeal to young Albert, as he was not sure that he wanted to leave his home for that long a period. The lure of Joseph Tremp's letter prevailed, and at the age of 15, he enrolled at Carlisle in 1899.

Albert Exendine was not destined to become an immediate success as a football player upon his arrival, however. In fact, he did not even attempt to play football his first year at Carlisle.

His first encounter with Glenn ("Pop") Warner, Head Football Coach, was a memorable one. "Pop" Warner, who was later to become one of the most famous figures in football of that era, moved to Carlisle in 1899 as coach for a salary of $1,200 a year. His exploits at the Indian School became legendary, and he is credited with the astounding success enjoyed by the Carlisle Indians against the most formidable opponents in the country: "Glenn S. Warner, Cornell '94, was the principal figure in the development of football at the Indian School. It was through his instruction that the Redmen became so adept in the game." [3]

Mr. Exendine recalled his first meeting with "Pop":

> I went to see "Pop" about playing football at Carlisle, and met with a very cool reception. He told me that I should have played football my first year there, and that it would be pretty tough for me to make the team because I had not. "'Pop" expected all the boys at Carlisle to play football, and conducted an excellent football program to attract them. He finally consented, and turned me over to an assistant coach on the field. He knocked me all over the field for an hour and a half before I learned to defend myself. By then I was wringing wet and so was he, but "Pop" was convinced that I wanted to play football.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Al Exendine later justified "Pop" Warner's opinion of him by playing six years of varsity football at Carlisle. He was the captain of the 1906 team, and was honored on Walter Camp's "All-American" team of 1907 as a second team end. He was not only an outstanding football player but was admired and respected by his team-mates, as well. In recounting his playing days at Carlisle, Charles V. Williams wrote of the exploits of "Exie" in a letter to Mr. Exendine dated September 11, 1920. Mr. Williams was captain of the Carlisle football team in 1902 and paid special tribute to "Ex":

> I often think of the good and bad stunts pulled off by our players during the 4 years I was at Carlisle. Even now I see Pennsy losing the ball 6 inches from our goal line and how I dropped back behind our own goal posts in the longest punt of my life. Yet, you went me one better, you was down the field waiting for the ball and nailed your man so hard that he dropped the ball and it was only luck that he recovered the ball in mid-field. It done my heart good and I guess it must have made "Pop" smile. [4]

Mr. Exendine's playing days at Carlisle were not without their moments of lightness, and his rare sense of humor was evident at that time even on the playing field. Coach Warner encouraged his players to talk to their opponents during a game and try to coerce them, as evidenced by an incident recalled during the Chicago game of 1907: [5]

> The Carlisle team of 1907 ruined Chicago's eleven by sarcasm. "Wally" Steffen, now Judge Walter M. Steffen of the Illinois Superior Court, was at that time known as the "Wizard of the West," and he had the sophomoric idea that no "game" defense man would fair catch a punt. The Indians had been warned of Steffen's great speed in running back punts.
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> The first time Carlisle punted, Gardner and Exendine hit Steffen at the same instant and shellshocked him. As he was coming out of the daze and sitting up, Exendine stood over him majestically and scornfully said, "Ugh! Wizard of the West!" and turned away as if disgusted. Yet they say the Indian has no humor.

Although "Ex" failed to obtain a first team berth on Walter Camp's "All-American" team of 1907, he was honored on the second team, and was considered by many critics to be the outstanding football player in America in his position.

His own coach, "Pop" Warner, commented on Walter Camp's failure to accord Exendine a place of honor on the first team with this ringing endorsement of his play: [6]

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[4] Information secured from a letter from Charles V. Williams to Albert Exendine, September 11, 1920.

[5] Hugh Fullerton, "Signal - Five - Nine - Here She Blows," *Liberty Magazine* (December 1, 1928), p. 70.

[6] Glenn S. Warner, "Indian Massacres," *Collier's* (October 17, 1931), p. 45.

Our ends that year were Gardner, a Sioux, and Exendine, an Arapahoe, and I still maintain that they have never been surpassed for sheer brilliance.

In selecting his All-America that year, Walter Camp only put Exendine on the second eleven and Houser on the third, not even mentioning Gardner, and also ignoring Mount Pleasant, the outstanding quarterback of the season.

Mr. Exendine became an Assistant Football Coach under "Pop" at Carlisle in 1908. He coached the "Hotshots"—the second team—and it was here that he developed the forward passing game which was to become his trademark of success in the coaching profession in later years.

This phase of his career also marked the appearance of an ususual ability to adapt his coaching techniques to the new rule changes.

It was apparent that Exendine's theories on the forward passing game were far ahead of his time. His development of the forward pass as an offensive weapon, while still an assistant coach at Carlisle, indicated his flexibility of thinking and his readiness to adopt new methods. This willingness to incorporate new theories into offensive football was even more amazing when contrasted with the type of offensive strategy which was employed during that period. Offensive thinking during that era was so stereotyped that the existence of the game itself was being threatened because of the danger of massing players together at one point of attack.

President Theodore Roosevelt threatened to abolish football after a particularly rough game in 1905. The game was not considered to be "open" as we know it now, and the most popular play was the straight line buck. This play resulted in dangerous pile-ups at the line of scrimmage. The end sweep was not considered to be an effective play and the forward pass was not legal.

The Rules Committee of Football met to attempt to eliminate the dangerous scrimmages, and as a result, the forward pass was legalized in 1906. Although the forward pass was actually legal during the season of 1906, it was not really exploited by most coaches until 1913: [7]

The game of American Football can be split into two eras: the one from the 1870's through to about 1913 or 1914, when there was little or no forward passing and the strategy called for mass attacks with brawn the priceless ingredient; the other since 1913, when the forward pass came into its own, since which time speed and deceptive play rather than pulverizing power, give lighter and smaller men the golden opportunity to become immortals.

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[7] Frank G. Menke, *Encyclopedia of Sports* (New York, 1945), p. 295.

The forward pass was actually not popularized until 1913, when the passing combination of Gus Dorais to Rockne and Pliska led Notra Dame to a stunning upset victory over Army.

The Carlisle Indians under "Pop" Warner had utilized the forward pass as early as the season of 1907, however, with Gardner and Exendine as the principal receivers. Carlisle defeated Chicago, the Big Ten Conference champions in 1907, by virtue of the ingenuity of Exendine and the forward pass. Coach Amos Alonzo Stagg of Chicago had assigned two backs to cover Exendine and two more to cover Gardner. The Indian passing attack was virtually useless, as a result. During a time out, Exendine went to his quarterback, Hauser, and instructed him to hold the ball as long as he could and then throw it to Exendine down by the goal line. When play was resumed, Exendine then ran out of bounds behind the Chicago bench. The two backfield men assigned to cover Exendine stopped when he ran out of bounds, as they knew he was not eligible to receive a forward pass out of bounds. Exendine then circled the bench, ran back in bounds, and stood all alone near the Chicago goal line. Hauser spotted Exendine, threw a fifty-yard forward pass, and Exendine caught the ball and trotted over the goal line for a touchdown.

Hauser and Exendine, along with Gardner, actually developed a passing combination during the season of 1907, just one year after the rule change which introduced the forward pass into football.

It was during his tenure as an assistant coach that he also coached the legendary Jim Thorpe, both in football and in the field events in track. It was Thorpe's excellence in these field events which enabled him to win both the Pentathlon and Decathlon in the 1912 Olympic Games, and to become a national and world-wide athletic hero at a later date. This teacher-pupil relationship formed a bond of friendship between "Ex" and Jim Thorpe which was destined to last a lifetime.

The two met again at Muskogee, Oklahoma in 1929, many years after their association at Carlisle. It was during this meeting that a reporter interviewed them together, and captured in print the close bond of mutual admiration and friendship which existed between them with the story of their reunion: [8]

> Away back in 1907 a young Oklahoma Indian, who was to become the greatest football player the game has produced and the world's outstanding athlete, entered the famous Carlisle Indian School at Carlisle, Pa.
>
> He won a halfback position on the team, captained that season by a brilliant end who was playing his last of five seasons on the Indian squad. The end, upon graduation, became assistant coach, and during

[8] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix,* May 12, 1929.

the succeeding years, under his tutelage and that of great old Glenn S. "Pop" Warner, the young halfback blazed a trail of football glory clear to the heights.

Jim Thorpe was considered to be a consensus "All Time All American," because of his record in intercollegiate football at Carlisle. In addition, he had been recently named as a charter member of the National Professional Football Hall of Fame. Thorpe played professional football from 1915 until 1926 and during that time performed for the Canton Bulldogs, Oorang Indians, Cleveland Indians, Toledo Maroons, Rock Island Independents, and the New York Giants. He also became the outstanding performer of all time in the Olympic Games of 1912: "It was in that Olympiad that Jim Thorpe, the Indian from Carlisle School, shattered many records and won both the decathlon of 10 events, and the pentathlon of five events — the only athlete in history to gain both titles in one year." [9]

Thorpe was very generous in his praise of "Exie," as a player and a coach, during the interview. He recalled the practice sessions at Carlisle during which Exendine was the only player on the field who was capable of tackling him in the open field.

Thorpe's endorsement of Exendine as a coach was a particularly outstanding tribute. He not only stressed Exendine's knowledge of football, but he emphasized his ability as a teacher to impart this knowledge to his players.

Exendine readily admitted that he held all the records at Carlisle in the broad jump, high jump, shot put, hammer throw, and other track and field events, until Thorpe broke all of his records with one try.

Mr. Exendine's fondest football memories are of the 1907 team. He recounted many stories in regard to this team, and finally summed it all up by stating that "Pop" Warner said it was the greatest football team he had ever coached. This, in the opinion of Mr. Exendine, was the greatest praise that he could give his teammates of that era. His praise was endorsed by none other than Coach Warner himself by the following reference to their team: "The Carlisle football team reached the top in the season in 1907 and again in 1908, with Jim Thorpe as its star player. Coach Glenn ("Pop") Warner at the Indian School once said, 'The greatest team I ever had was that Carlisle team in 1907.'" [10]

When the call to "Pop" Warner came for a head football coach for Otterbein University in 1909, he immediately rec-

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[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

[10] Harriet P. Gilstrap, "Memoirs of a Pioneer Teacher," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXVIII (Spring, 1960), p. 31.

ommended his young Indian assistant, Albert Exendine, for the position. Mr. Exendine recalled that "Pop" Warner sent him on his way to his first head coaching assignment at the Ohio school with the following admonition with regard to his forward passing game: "Ex, you will become a good football coach if you remember that football is football, and not basketball."

"Ex" coached at Otterbein for three years and during the off-season months managed to find time to obtain his law degree. He graduated from Dickinson Law School in 1912 and then returned to Anadarko, Oklahoma, to practice law. The lure of football was too strong for the energetic young coach, however, and he managed to find time to coach high school football in Anadarko while practicing law in 1912.

His record at Otterbein was astonishing in view of the size of the school. He obtained national recognition for himself and for his football team in 1910, losing only to Ohio State University by a score of 14 to 5. Otterbein became the most prominent football school of its size in the state of Ohio because of its victorious team.

The Otterbein *Aegis,* December 7, 1911, paid tribute to his contribution to the game of football and to the college. It is significant to note that he received this tribute immediately after he had completed his first assignment as a Head Football Coach. The *Aegis* summarized this record compiled by the young man just removed from the assistant coaching ranks: "A great many things might be said of Albert A. Exendine, who has so efficently coached the Otterbein football team for the past three seasons. But in leaving Otterbein Exendine needs no eulogizing, for his work here has given him a reputation that is almost national in scope. [11]

He was then persuaded by "Pop" Warner to return to Carlisle as an assistant coach in 1913. The week prior to the Georgetown University football game with the University of Virginia, "Pop" Warner was asked by officials at Georgetown if he could spare "Ex" for a week to get the team ready to play Virginia. Coach Exendine coached the team at Georgetown for one week prior to the game and defeated the University of Virginia. The natural aftermath of this situation resulted in the appointment of Exendine to Georgetown in 1914. He remained there as Head Football Coach until 1922.

"Pop" Warner had taken his team to Georgetown to play a late season game on November 1, 1913. The Indians were on the way to a victorious season which resulted in ten wins, one loss, and one tie. They rolled over Georgetown 34 to 0.

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[11] Information obtained in correspondence with Librarian, Otterbein College, December 7, 1962.

The story of the incident which led to the appointment of Exendine as the Head Football Coach at Georgetown was related by Bob Considine in his column in the Washington *Post* in 1936: "After the game Exendine remained in Washington at the request of Charley Cox, then graduate manager of athletics at the Hilltop, to help Eddie Bennis and Frank Gargan coach the Hoyas for their final game of the year against Virginia. Exendine, the following Saturday, watched Costello beat Virginia with three field goals in the last game played between two old rivals." [12]

His career at Georgetown had a spectacular beginning and ended on the same note. His inaugural effort proved to be highly successful, as he produced a victory for Georgetown over Virginia in one week's time. The team which he fielded in 1915 was considered to be one of Georgetown's best, and was acclaimed by many football authorities as one of the best in the East. This was high praise, indeed, for a young coach in his second year at a university.

In 1922, his last year at the school, Georgetown defeated Jock Southerland's unbeated Lafayette team in a game which was considered one of the coaching triumphs of that year.

Mr. Exedine's success at Georgetown earned him the acclaim of the students, and he was even compared with the celebrated "Pop" Warner as a successful football coach. The high esteem in which the students at Georgetown held Coach Exendine is illustrated by the reference to him in the Georgetown yearbook, *Ye Domesday Booke*. Mr. James P. Riley, Associate Librarian, Georgetown University, supplied the following information from *Ye Domesday Booke* in a letter to Thomas F. Dolan, August 18, 1955: [13]

> 1915: Mr. Exendine, one of the most brilliant stars that ever represented Carlisle, the school of stars, on the gridiron, was in charge of football the past fall. The former "All-American" player, following his graduation from Carlisle, acted in the capacity of assistant coach to Glenn Warner, recognized as one of the greatest football mentors in the country. Consequently he came to us not only a wonderful player, but an experienced coach. His work the past fall needs no eulogy.

The remainder of Mr. Exendine's coaching career reads like a travelogue of his profession. He was sought after by many colleges and universities interested in building successful football programs. From 1923 to 1925 he was the Football Coach at Washington State College. His appointment to this post was a direct result of his success at Georgetown. His record of de-

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12 Captions and explanatory remarks taken from scrapbook kept by Albert A. Exendine.

13 *Ibid.*

ALBERT ANDREW EXENDINE

feating Dartmouth twice, Navy three times, and Lafayette five times, while at Georgetown, was considered to be outstanding. In addition, his 1916 Georgetown team, which was the highest scoring aggregation in the United States, brought him national recognition.

The highlight of his career at Washington State was his victory over the University of Southern California in 1925 by a score of 17 to 12. This win was attributed to the deception of Exendine's passing game, and was considered an upset in view of the strength of the U.S.C. squad. This achievement was also considered a coaching victory for Exendine over one of the outstanding mentors in the nation, Howard Jones.

He was also credited with some innovations in the famous "Warner System" of football, while at Washington State. These innovations consisted of a sound, deceptive passing attack, and an aversion to the "kicking game." His aversion to the "kicking game" did not prevent him from developing good punters, however. It did result in a wide open, colorful offense which scored touchdowns. This type of attack was in sharp contrast with the "kick and wait for the breaks" style of football which was popular with many coaches during that time.

His ability as a coach and teacher was saluted by the students in the form of an endorsement by *The Chinook,* the annual publication of Washington State College published by the class of 1924: "In Exendine we have a coach second to none on the Pacific Coast. He knows football from A to Z and has a way about him that makes a fellow want to get in and give everything he's got—and then some." [14]

Exendine moved to Occidental College in 1926. It was at this point in his career that he was compared with Andy Smith, "Pop" Warner, Howard Jones, Gilmour Dobie, Hugo Bezdek, and "Lonestar" Dietz as one of the outstanding coaches on the Pacific Coast. The students at Occidental were greatly enthused with the appointment of Exendine, and expressed their enthusiasm when he addressed them in the chapel shortly after he arrived. During his speech to the students in the Occidental Chapel, his ever-present sense of humor was again apparent. He told them in all seriousness that he had been coaching football for eighteen years. He then admitted that he wasn't as good looking as when he started, but that he believed he knew more football after eighteen years.

"Chief" Exendine, as he was commonly referred to by many newspapermen, had become a colorful sports figure by 1926.

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[14] Information secured in a letter from Mrs. Emmett Avery, Archivist, Washington State University Library, to the author, October 31, 1962.

This was true because of his background at Carlisle, and the many legendary stories which had cropped up about him. His record at Otterbein and at Georgetown also contributed to his image as an imaginative football genius. He was a faithful disciple of "Pop" Warner and patterned his football after the Warner System. His great admiration and respect for Warner were apparent in his statement in an interview with Mr. Harry Culver in Los Angeles in 1927: "There is one thing that characterizes 'Pop'," he says. 'If somebody turns out to be smart, Warner is just a bit smarter.'" [15]

The endless stories about the old Carlisle Indians appealed to many sportswriters at that time. Exendine, as one of the most colorful of them all, made excellent copy, and his title of "Chief" appeared in print whenever his name was mentioned. His Indian ancestry was used as a source for stories in connection with his success on the football field. The story of his appointment at Occidental in 1926 contained the following reference to his Indian name: "Albert A. Exendine's Indian name is 'Tos-Pon-Ne-Hein', which means toss up and catch it! The Delaware Indian, a football coach of national repute, took command of the Occidental College football team yesterday." [16]

During his stay at Occidental College in 1926 and 1927, the football rules were changed to eliminate the penalty for fumbled backward passes. The consensus of opinion among the sports writers was that this rule change in 1927 would favor the type of football which Exendine coached. The lateral or backward pass was an integral part of the attack for coaches who believed in wide open football, such as Exendine. The opinion was also expressed that the new rule change would be favorable for "Pop" Warner at Stanford. It was apparent that Exendine and Warner were thought of in the same light by the football critics of that era when "open" football was mentioned.

Exendine's feeling for the welfare of the game of football was much stronger than any advantage which he could gain by the rule change. His concern with how the game was being played, and the effect of the rule change on the overall status of football, far outweighed his desire for personal gain. He expressed this point of view when he was questioned about the new rules by Mr. Culver in his interview with him in 1927: "Of course, it helps us to have the penalty removed on fumbled backward passes. But as a matter of common sense, I don't see why the rules committee didn't leave things alone there. Taking away the danger of losing the ball will have a tendency to make some teams play a basketball game." [17]

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15 Caption and explanatory remarks taken from sports scrapbook kept by Occidental College Library.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

"Chief" Exendine was also known as "the gentleman of football." The students at Occidental gave him this title when he departed in 1927. He did not enjoy great success at Occidental College, but he left his mark on every boy who played for him and on every student who came in contact with him. He was admired and respected by the entire student body, even in defeat.

After two years at Occidental, Exendine accepted the appointment as Head Football Coach at Northeastern Oklahoma State Teacher's College in 1928. His team won four conference games, lost one, and tied two during that year. He also conducted a class for football coaches during the summer session at Northeastern.

In 1929 he moved to Oklahoma State University and served as backfield coach under Lynn O. ("Pappy") Waldorf from 1929 to 1933. It was here that he was to discover a new challenge for his coaching ability in the field of baseball. His baseball team started the season in 1933 with three wins and then lost a close decision to Oklahoma City University and two games to Oklahoma University. They then rallied later in the season to win two crucial victories over Oklahoma University, and two more over the Chilocco Indians to clinch the state championship. His record again attests to his success as a teacher and leader of young men in this new field of endeavor.

Exendine's career as the Head Football Coach at Oklahoma State University in 1934 and 1935 was the terminal point for his college coaching. A testimonial to his knowledge of the game dating back over some thirty years of experience provided a fitting climax to his last collegiate coaching effort: "Albert A. Exendine, head football coach, is a valued member of the coaching staff due to his long and varied experience." [18]

Although his retirement at Oklahoma State University marked the end of his college coaching, he still found time to devote his spare time to football. His duties as Organization Field Agent for his people under the U.S. Indian Reorganization Act took him back to Anadarko. While there, he managed to find an Indian high school team to coach to an unbeaten season in 1936. His high school team of that year scored 300 points against 12 for the opposition. He was also involved in what was probably one of the most unusual events in football during that year. There was a shortage of competent officials in that area so Exendine was called upon to referee all the games played by his team. He recalled this situation in an interview with Bob Considine in 1936. An insight into Mr. Exendine's refreshing

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[18] Information secured in a letter from Mrs. Rhoda Russell, Reference Librarian, Oklahoma State University, to the author, December 7, 1962.

outlook on life and an example of his keen sense of humor are also indicated in this interview by Considine: "It took me until this late date," he mused last night in his steam heated tepee, "to learn the secret of perfect seasons. I not only coached this team, but all the opponents asked me to be the referee of their games. It's a pity more coaches can't have such an opportunity." [19]

Mr. Considine also questioned "Ex" in regard to the Indian athlete. His question indicated his concern over the disappearance of the great Indian athletes of the Carlisle Indian School era in the history of athletic achievement. One theory which had been advanced was that the Indian had grown soft as a government ward, and did not want to work hard enough. Another theory laid the blame for the disappearance of the redman as an athlete on the fact that Carlisle no longer existed and that Haskell had been reduced to a high school.

Exendine had another theory. His opinion was that the Indian was no longer restricted to special schools. They were not herded together as a group, and were not considered to be a separate element in athletics. He had another viewpoint which revealed his concern with the social implications of the disappearance of the Indian as a dominant figure in the world of sports. Exendine's answer also illustrated another side of that ever-present sense of humor: "Marriage with Americans has Americanized most of them and changed their names and spread them around the country so much that it is hard to distinguish them as Indians. They have lost their identity, true, but the fact remains that there are more Indians now in the country than there were when that chap, Columbus, came over to visit." [20]

Albert Andrew Exendine's contribution of service to the American Indian and his tremendous influence on the countless thousands of boys he coached during his tenure as a teacher and a coach provide a monument to his achievement in life. This man—a product of Mautame Indian Mission School and of the Carlisle Indian School—educator, lawyer, and Indian Agent, devoted a lifetime to the education of the young men of his country.

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19 Captions and explanatory remarks taken from scrapbook kept by Albert A. Exendine.

20 *Ibid.*

NELSON FRANKLIN CARR

By Harold R. Farrar *

Nelson Franklin Carr, "Pioneer of the Big Caney," was the first white man to become a permanent resident of this area, Washington County, Oklahoma. He was born September 2, 1844 at Wilton, Saratoga County, New York and died November 4, 1925 at his home in Bartlesville. His father was William Henry Carr who was born in 1818 in New York state and died there on September 14, 1848. His mother was Sarah Mabel Clancy who was born in Vermont in 1819 and died in 1908 in California at the home of her daughter. William Henry and Sarah Mabel Clancy Carr were the parents of three children who lived to maturity, two daughters and a son, the son being the subject of this sketch.

Nelson could remember very little concerning his father as he died when Nelson was but four years old. At the tender age of nine, young Nelson was beginning to take on the responsibilities of "the man of the family," which consisted of his mother, two sisters Anna and Jennie, and himself. At the age of fifteen he was the main support of the family—something a boy that age would find almost impossible today.

The fatherless family decided to seek their fortune farther west and in April of 1859 started on the long journey which ended near Fort Scott, Kansas, after four months of travel. They came by rail as far as Pleasant Hill, Missouri, which was then the terminus of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, traveled by stage to Westport, Missouri, and here purchased a wagon and ox team in order to continue their journey. They proceeded in a southwest direction until arriving at a location three miles north and two miles east of Fort Scott, Kansas, on August 7, 1859, and here they decided to settle. [1] They were on land which was open for homestead and Nelson and his mother each filed claim on one hundred and sixty acres. The patents were filed on these properties on January 15, 1863 [2] This made a fine three hundred and twenty acre farm on which to start life anew

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* Harold R. Farrar, a native of Kansas has been a resident of Oklahoma since 1942. He lives in Bartlesville where he is employed by the Phillips Petroleum Company. Mr. Farrar is an active member of the Washington County Historical Society.—Ed.

1 *Bartlesville Examiner* (Bartlesville, Oklahoma), March 16, 1947. See biography of Nelson F. Carr in *History of Oklahoma* by Luther B. Hill (1909), Vol. II, p. 392.

2 Othwick Abstract Company, Fort Scott, Kansas, to writer, letter dated January 29, 1965.

in what was the "wild west" to this eastern family. It was on this farm that Nelson was reared and attended what little schooling was available in the area.

Nelson enlisted for Civil War service at Fort Scott, Kansas, on July 27, 1861, and was assigned to Company "B", 6th Regiment, Kansas Infantry, Volunteers. This unit, in March of 1862, became the 6th Kansas Cavalry under the command of Colonel W. R. Judson and Nelson served, as a private, his commanders in an honorable fashion until his discharge on March 6, 1862 at Drywood, Missouri. A description of him at the time of his enlistment is as follows; five feet ten and one half inches tall, light complexion, gray eyes, brown hair and his occupation was listed as a farmer. He served only a short period of time because he contracted "intermittent fever," this we know as malaria. He was treated for this ailment on two occasions during his enlistment, one period of illness lasting for eight days, the other lasting for fourteen days. He continued to suffer from this ailment after his discharge and on May 29, 1911 he was admitted to the Battle Mountain Sanitarium at Hot Springs, South Dakota, for further treatment. [3]

Upon his return home from war service Nelson could see that in order to become a successful man he would have to further his education and with this thought in mind returned to his former home in New York and attended school for a period of six months. Returning to Fort Scott he accepted employment as a book-keeper in a mercantile store and served in this capacity for four years. During this time he envisioned the profits which would be his if only he had his own store. He saved his money and he and his brother-in law, Henry C. Bridgeman, went to what is now Oswego, Kansas, in March of 1866 and purchased the only trading post at that location. [4] The building which housed their small store was a crude log affair with a dirt floor and no windows. Nelson thought their customers deserved something better so he decided to install a wooden floor in the building. He journeyed to Humboldt, Kansas, where the materials were available, and purchased the necessary boards and nails with which to put in the floor. He constructed a crude raft, loaded his flooring upon it and set sail down the Neosho River one mid-afternoon. After drifting all night he awoke the next morning, glanced around him and could still see the small town he had left the day before. "That was a mighty crooked river," he later commented.

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[3] General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., Civil War Pension Record of Nelson F. Carr.

[4] Wayne A. O'Connell, Oswego Democrat, Oswego, Kansas, March 31, 1958.

The Osage Indians were located in the southeastern part of Kansas at this time and much trading was carried on with them as well as Indians of other tribes and the few white settlers of the area. Later the Carr and Bridgeman partnership constructed a larger building for their store and it was finished on July 3, 1866. As the next day was an important one a big celebration was held which included a picnic, open house and a dance for the area residents. It was in this store, on July 16, 1866, a name was drawn from a box naming the town Oswego, it previously having been called Little Town. [5] A postoffice was established at this location and on October 4, 1866, Mr. Carr was appointed the first postmaster by Postmaster General Alexander W. Randall. [6] As the salary of this office was determined by the receipts it was not a well paying job, usually amounting to about one dollar per month. Nelson served in this capacity for almost a year.

The Oswego trading post and post office was the gathering place of the community and Nelson became acquainted with most of the residents of the area as they all traded at this store. One of their customers was Hilliard Rogers and Nelson had great admiration for this man as he was a prominent man in the tribal affairs of the Cherokees and had served as interpretor in the Seminole Wars, in Florida, under Generals Scott and Taylor. Mr. Rogers was one fourth Cherokee and lived in the Timber Hill area south of Oswego in Indian Territory. Nelson had heard many glowing reports concerning the beautiful and talented daughter of the Rogers family, Sarah Ann. He decided he should look into this matter and on his twenty-second birthday, September 2, 1866, he saddled his favorite pony and rode down to Timber Hill for a visit with his friend Mr. Rogers. He discovered Miss Rogers to be even more beautiful and charming than he had hoped for and if the young man had ever entertained thoughts of being a bachelor these thoughts were soon forgotten. After a courtship of nearly a year they were married on August 25, 1867 in the Timber Hill area by the Reverend David Standfield, minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Chetopa, Kansas. [7]

The Delaware Indians purchased, in 1867, land in the Cherokee Nation and were preparing to move to their new homeland from Kansas. This land now comprises the greater part of Washington County, Oklahoma. Plans were also being discussed concerning the removal of the Osage Tribe to what is now Osage County, Oklahoma from southeastern Kansas. Nelson could see

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, Mrs. George T. Hawley, Assistant Librarian to writer, letter dated December 23, 1964.

[7] General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., Civil War Pension Record of Nelson F. Carr.

that there was a need for a trading post in this newly inhabited area. He discussed his plan for this new location with his bride. It was decided they should establish this new store and they came to the Delaware District. On September 5, 1867, they made camp at a location one and one half miles north and one mile west of the present site of Bartlesville. [8] This was near the ford where the Black Dog Trail crossed the Big Caney and here a crude log building was constructed which served as store and living quarters for them. This was the first trading post in this region. Nelson sold his one half interest in the Oswego store on September 20, 1867, which enabled him to devote full time to his new business location. As it was crowded in the one room log cabin with the store and living quarters located in the small area and sleeping facilities in the attic, it was not long until a larger log building was constructed for their home. This Nelson did with the help of his father-in-law, Hilliard Rogers, who with Mrs. Rogers and their young son William Grant Rogers had moved to this locality from Timber Hill. This new home was much nicer than the first. It was larger, it had a wooden floor and the walls contained windows of glass. When this home was outgrown, a five room frame house was built northeast of the first log houses. In 1881, a fine eight room home was built which still stands, and is owned and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Russell King west of Dewey.

Business was good at the new trading post and many hides and furs were traded for which meant having to freight goods to and from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. These trips sometimes took as long as eight days and many times were made under very trying circumstances. On one occasion Nelson was caught out in twenty degrees below zero weather while returning from Kansas. After the deaths of both Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, in 1870, Mrs. Carr was left alone many times with her young son, Edward, and her baby brother, William. Leaving Mrs. Carr in charge of the trading post was not the ideal situation so Mr. Austin T. Dickerman was hired, and came down from Oswego to run the store in the absence of the owner.

During the absence of Mr. Carr, in May of 1868, on one of his freighting trips to Kansas, a band of "wild" Indians invaded the land of the Delawares. They discovered the small son of Jim Snake, a friend and neighbor of the Carrs, herding ponies on Butler Creek and murdered him. As the invaders were leaving the scene of the crime they were discovered by a band of Osages and were chased out of the country. The Osages returned, all fired up from their recent victory, and stopped by Carr's store. They proceeded to loot and destroy the small establishment over the protests of Mr. Dickerman. When a claims court was

[8] *Bartlesville Examiner*, March 16, 1947.

established, thirty three years later, Mr. Carr filed suit against the Osages and recovered his losses.[9] This looting incident caused him not to re-open his store. He turned to other activities which included cutting and marketing timber.

Mr. Carr had seen the bountiful crops of corn which the local Indians were able to raise although they sometimes did not devote much time to the proper methods of raising such a crop. He believed that with plenty of care and hard work that he could improve on their production. In 1869, he purchased a bushel of the finest seed corn he could find, paying $2.50 for it and became the first man to raise corn on a large scale in this area. He now had control of a large amount of land but was in the need for more so purchased the rights to the farm of his neighbor, Jim Snake. This gave him one thousand two hundred acres with eight hundred of it in cultivation. The enormous yield from his one bushel of seed corn soon had him thinking of a new venture, a grist mill which would enable him to convert his crop into a more useful product—corn meal. He located a long sweeping bend in the Big Caney and in 1870 by digging only a short distance, he had a mill race with a drop of eight feet in the water level which furnished plenty of power to turn the stone burrs he had shipped in from New York. The site of this mill is north of the present Cherokee Avenue bridge, Bartlesville. One of these burrs is now embedded in the sidwalk at the home of Mrs. John Bitinis who lives near the old mill site. Thus, the waters of the Big Caney were harnessed for the first time and the first industry in this area was established. Some of the products of this mill were hauled to Oswego and sold for $9.00 per hundred pounds. The mill was sold, on March 20, 1875, to Jacob Bartles for the sum of $1,000 and has been known as Bartles Mill since that time.[10]

Mr. Carr then devoted all his time to farming and cattle raising, and one year harvested three thousand two hundred bushels of corn with a yield average of forty bushels to the acre. He had, at one time, three thousand bushels of wheat in storage at Coffeyville waiting for a higher price. In one transaction he agreed to sell to one P. Montgomery, on September 23, 1889, ten thousand bushels of corn for fifteen cents a bushel.[11] At the height of his farming career he had five thousand acres under fence and one thousand acres in cultivation. He also had several thousand head of cattle and one thousand head of horses, many of them Morgans and Steeldust. He controlled grazing land from the Big Caney to the Verdigris River.

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[9] Manily B. Updike of Muskogee, Oklahoma, in *Wide West Magazine*, April 1, 1914.

[10] *Bartlesville, Examiner*, March 16, 1947.

[11] *Ibid.*

Mr. Carr, seeing the need for educational facilities in the growing community, recalled the difficult time he had getting an education. He constructed and outfitted at his own expense, a small building south of his home to be used as a school in 1874. He employed Miss Betty Smith to come down from Kansas to teach this school. The first term saw eighteen pupils attending classes here, the first school in the region. [12]

A resident of the country west of what is now Dewey, Dr. James T. Pyle, was attacked on the night of May 28, 1886, and severely injured by an assailant using an axe for a weapon. [13] After six days the victim died from the injuries. A Negro, John Stephens, was suspected as being the person who had committed this crime. Mr. Carr tracked down this man, captured him and turned him over to the proper authorities in order that he be brought to trial. The trial was held in Judge Isaac Parker's Court, Fort Smith, Arkansas, he was convicted and hanged for murdering Dr. Pyle. Tracking down the suspect was accomplished in this manner: The suspect was without shoes at the time and had wrapped his feet in strips of green blanket material and had lost one of these strips at the scene of the crime. When captured he still had some of these strips in one of his pockets and from this evidence Mr. Carr knew he had captured the right man. Mr. Carr had been appointed a member of the United States Secret Service in 1879, and none of his family knew of this appointment until after his death in 1925 when they discovered the document while going through his personal papers. [14]

After the discovery of oil at Bartlesville, Mr. Carr sold his vast farming and cattle raising empire in 1905, and devoted his time to the development of his oil holdings. He leased nineteen tracts of eighty acres each to the Caney Valley Oil and Gas Company. Over one hundred producing wells were drilled on his land.

Having spent forty years at, or near, the site of the trading post where their eight children were born and seven reared to adulthood, the Carrs purchased from their son-in-law, William Keeler, on October 26, 1907, a comfortable home at 311 South Creek Avenue in Bartlesville and removed from the farm. [15] They purchased from Mr. M. T. Kirk, on December 8, 1913, a finer home at 301 South Creek Avenue and there spent their re-

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[12] *Bartlesville Examiner,* March 16, 1947.

[13] Glenn Shirley, *Law West of Fort Smith, Appendix* pp. 221, 222.

[14] Ida Jane "Jennie" Carr Johnson in *Bartlesville Examiner,* March 30, 1947.

[15] Miss Ruth Rahm, County Clerk and Register of Deeds Office, Washington County Court House, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

maining years surrounded by their children and grandchildren.[16] Mr. Carr was a member of the Baptist Church, the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Masonic Lodge.[17]

Mr. Carr was a very retiring man who accomplished things in a quiet way. Mrs. Nelson J. Carr, wife of the namesake-grandson of Mr. Carr, has this to say about him, "Grandpa Carr was a quiet unassuming Englishman who wanted no publicity and received none. This is the way he wanted it." Although he had little formal education, he was far visioned and a very wise man. He had a wonderful disposition and was well liked by all who knew him. He lived by the Ten Commandments, and honesty was a quality he tried to instill in all the members of his family. He was a man of deep faith and because of this he was able to understand weaknesses in other people, he was never critical.

Mr. Carr was placed on the Cherokee rolls and allotted land through his marriage to a Cherokee. Here is his explanation, "I was married to the same woman the second time in February (17th) 1868 by the District Judge of Delaware District, Cherokee Nation.[18] This was to make me a Cherokee citizen and is on record in the Chief's office Talequah [*sic*] Okla. or in Dawes Commission office Muskogee, Okla. My wife was of 1/8 Cherokee blood and by marrying before 1875 gave me the same Cherokee rights as any Cherokee Indian. Dated March 11, 1915. [Signed] Nelson F. Carr."[19]

The name of Mr. Carr is almost forgotten now. It can be found only in old records, on his crypt in White Rose Mausoleum, or on the lips of the relatives and the few old timers left who remember him.

Appendix

Cherokee Final Roll, ages calculated to January 1, 1902:

Sarah A. Carr, 53 years, 1-8 Cherokee, Roll #10144, Census Card #4206.

Cherokee Roll-by intermarriage:

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16 *Ibid.*

17 Charles S. McGinnes, Grand Secretary, The Grand Lodge of A.F. and A.M., Topeka, Kansas, letter to the writer dated December 11, 1964.

18 Page 9, Book S, Marriage Record of Delaware District, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory, Certified copy furnished to author by Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma. Certifying Officer, LeRoy Martin.

19 General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., Civil War Pension Record of Nelson F. Carr. See *Appendix* for the Cherokee records of Sarah A. Carr and Nelson F. Carr, U.S. Indian Office, Muscogee Area.

Nelson F. Carr, 58 years, Roll #90, Census Card #4206.

The Nelson F. Carr family can trace its descent from the brothers, Robert and Caleb Carr, who came to America in 1635 on the Elizabeth and Ann and settled in Rhode Island.[20]

William and Sarah Louisa "Lula" Carr Keeler were the parents of William Wayne, or W. W. Keeler, who was born after the rolls closed and is a resident of Bartlesville, Oklahoma. Mr. Keeler is the present Principal Chief of the Cherokees. He is also Chairman of the Executive Committee of Phillips Petroleum Company, Bartlesville.

Nelson F. and Sarah A. Rogers Carr were the parents of eight children:

1. Edward Rogers	b. Aug. 30, 1868	d. April 15, 1877
2. Ida Jane, "Jennie" Roll #10127	b. Dec. 31, 1869	m. John H. Johnson
3. Gracie Maud	b. Nov. 18, 1871	m. Matthew Elam
4. William Arthur Roll #10429	b. Dec. 4, 1873	m. 1st Julia Arania Tayrien m. 2nd Louise Briggs
5. Frank Marvin Roll #10233	b. May 20, 1878	m. 1st Gertrude Hampton m. 2nd Ethel Flora Hicks
6. Sarah Louisa, "Lulu" Roll #10355	b. Nov. 22, 1880	m. William Keeler.
7. Josie May Roll #10145	b. Dec. 22, 1884	m. Lorenzo J. Brower
8. Beulah Mabel Roll #10146	b. July 11, 1892	m. Sandford Cleve Brady

[20] Arthur A. Carr, *The Carr Family* (Ticonderoga, New York, 1947).

THE AMERICAN INDIAN AND HIS NAME

By Hope Holway

Now and then we wonder about the origin of our own names but cannot do much more than wonder, for the ancestor who first bore the name by which we are now called lived so long ago. Perhaps to visit him one had to go down the valley path, so it was Hollow-way that became attached to him, some times shortened to Holly or Hawley. Perhaps he was John's or Stephen's son; perhaps he had a little forge and so was called the Smith; or perhaps he was the best Hunter of the village.

However it was, the origins of our names are very similar to those of the Indians, except that to our ears the sound of Indian names is strange and difficult to compass. It may be, too, that the necessity for simplification came earlier to the Anglo-Saxon and his contemporaries because of the introduction of written communication while the social order was still fringed with primitive customs. [1]

In a primitive society there is very little need for names except in the inner circle of the family or clan. There is no recorded ownership of property, no question of inheritance by written order, no consciousness of the family generations, no graves marked with ancestors' names (except in case of royalty), and no carrying over of the male name to the female line by marriage ceremony. The clan or tribe is all important.

But there would arise circumstances, sometimes notable, sometimes even ludicrous, by which an individual would gain a prominence that called for a name with a meaning related to the happening. This name would probably be commonly known. But in some tribes there were individuals who did not know their own names, for they were items in the making of "medicine" and would attract the attention of evil spirits if spoken aloud. Very often it was not until puberty that the little boy knew who he was, and when he did know he could change from this

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[1] Sources used in preparing this article include: E. Jane Gay, "Choup-nit-ki" (with the Nez Percé's) two volumes in manuscript (1895), illustrated with photographs (Women's Archives, Radcliffe College); Frank Terry, Superintendent of the U.S. Boarding School for Crow Indians, Montana, "Naming the Indians," *Review of Reviews* for March, 1897; Lewis Henry Morgan, *The Indian Journal* issues 1859 to 1862; James Owen Dorsey, *Indian Personal Names,* Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vol. 34, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1886); Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30,* Pt. II (Washington, 1912); Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *History of the American Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia).

"boy's name" to one that would indicate his prowess as a warrior, like "Tenkiller" or "Swift Arrow." He may have already "swapped" his name for one he liked better.

This change of names might also come when the owner became sickly, in the hope that the change would assure recovery; or when going off on a war party a change might bring victory. There were taboo names,—"Those Who Eat No Dogs"; there were names referring to some tribal custom or to the mythical origin of a gens within the tribe, as among the Omahas one clan could not touch the buffalo skull, another the tail; one could eat the tongue but not the ribs. Names within the clan recorded that fact. Among this same tribe there were "nikie" names, but only for one member of the clan. These "nikie" names referred to some mythical ancestor,—some part of his body, some act of his, some rite he established. Very often the original meaning was lost, but the name persisted.

For instance, the Indian name of the Iowa chief *Neomonni* means in English "Cloud out of which the Rains Come," which might refer to many attributes or experiences of the chief. Another Iowa name, *Moanahonga,* can be translated "Great Walker," very easy to place as a characteristic but it, too, might refer to an exploit of either this man or of a mythical ancestor.

It is evident that parents had little to do with names, which were most often given by those men of the tribe who were versed in the significance of names. Because of the strong sense of humor among most tribes, a circumstance might create a name which would be no source of pride to the owner. The English translation "Small Boiler," for an Omaha name, meaning "She did not Boil Enough," was attached to an unfortunate woman who gave a feast, but who did not have food enough for her guests.

Not all great deeds which were commemorated by names were those of warriors. There was an Osage name translated "Walks a Long Time," which recorded the seven-day walk of two old Osage men searching for a good land for their people. There were also names which smacked of contempt, with English translations like *Thin Corn Female, Bad Iron,* or *Henry No Shin Bone.*

The variety of names was endless. Dream names, perhaps uttered in a person's sleep; color names,—"Scarlet Claws"; iron names,—"His Iron Bow"; animal names,—"Crow Dog" or "Cloud Eagle"; nature names,—"Face Whirlwind"; and even cardinal or ordinal names,—One or First, Two or Second. Among the Omaha women the names are especially related to the wonders of nature,—"South Wind Female," "She Who Walks in the Water," "Comes Roaring" (suggests the thunder), "Looking at

the Moon." In this list some names are rather mystifying, — "Four Post Female," and "She Who is Coming Out." It must be remembered that the translation of the Indian form of these names into English cannot be literal or cannot convey the full significance of their meaning to Indian ears.

It was when the Indian came into contact with a civilized culture that difficulties arose. The Indian hunters who came to the trading posts to sell their furs, the Indian guides necessary in the wilderness, the Indian children enticed into the schools or their parents induced to become church members, they all had to have names which could be pronounced and remembered by the frontiersman, the white trader, and the missionary.

In the late 1870's when Alice Fletcher was allotting the Nez Percé land, she learned that she could not ask "What is your name?" in order to show ownership on the deed or on the map of the new holding, for very often it was forbidden (a taboo) to speak one's own name or the wife's name. The man might not even know his wife's name, for members of a family group addressed each other by the terms of relationship. The Indian name was sacred. The English name given by earlier agents was not to be used on serious occasions.

The early white men in contact with the western Indians sadly lacked imagination in giving names like Indian Bob, Siwash Jake, or Crackerbox Jim. Even Tommy Jim and Silas Bob lasted for years as suitable names. A rough frontier sense of humor sometimes gave names of which the Indian was ashamed or else treated as the white man's joke, not to be signed to land deeds. Of this category there were Lydia Pinkham, Holy Moses, Yankee Doodle.

The missionary teacher usually made an effort to give the school children names which they could carry with pride into the new life awaiting them. Sometimes they allowed the children to choose the names themselves and they might take the name of a public figure they had learned about in school, like Thomas Jefferson or Napoleon Bonaparte. But often these names would make them the butt of school-boy jokes and the names of the missionaries they had come to know were not quite so subject to such treatment. "Joseph Vaill," for instance was an Osage pupil in the Union Mission school, named for the father of its superintendent, the Reverend William Vaill. "Samuel Worcester," another Osage boy, was probably named by a teacher who admired the Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, which supported this Mission. Down in the Choctaw Nation Peter Hudson chose his first name because he admired Peter Pitchlynn, the chief who served his tribe so well.

When one reads the Indian names that have survived in print in their original form, it becomes quite evident that it would have been an impossibility to handle a school list of pupils or a trader's records without familiar forms to take the place of those long and complicated tribal forms, so unfamiliar to the white man.

But this early and haphazard method of changing the names made a great deal of trouble for the Government agents when they began to take census rolls of the tribes and especially when the ownership of land changed from the tribal community form to that of individuals. There had to be easily recognizable names to sign to deeds and all the complications of inheritance soon appeared. Among some tribes the uncles and aunts of the generation of the grandparents were also referred to as grandparents, another complication. The children who had been named in the mission schools had fathers whose names bore no relation to theirs; there might be brothers who did not carry the same name. The easiest to handle, of course, were those of mixed blood with Scotch, French or English surnames, handed down from their fathers, though perhaps it is a loss that the mother's tribal name was not preserved.

Under the Agency system among the tribes there gradually developed an honest effort to introduce our own practical and usable name system, very important to the ownership and transfer of property. It was a crucial item in the Government's efforts to fit the Indian for United States citizenship and it was a part for many years of the "Rules and Regulations" which supposedly directed the agents. It was perfectly natural for the Indian to resist this strange idea of the white man and it took years to bring it to routine stature. Even now there are remnants of the early names taken to please the white man, some of them from the billboards erected by them. "Munsingwear" has a nice musical sound.

There is a circular letter of Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated March 19, 1890, to Indian Agents and Superintendents of Schools, in which Mr. Morgan stresses the importance of family names. Use the Indian name when short and euphonious, or sometimes it can be arbitrarily shortened. English Christian names can be given and do not keep Indian names that are uncouth or embarrassing. Sobriquets and nicknames like Tom, Pete, Jack, etc., should be abandoned. All Indian employees of the Bureau must have these names approved in Washington. They must be dignified and proper and the Indians must understand their importance. There must be an effort to have wives and their children known by the husband's name. This had been neglected by the men who had conducted the land sales and allotments.

But Mr. Morgan warns that probably it is not a good practice to convert the Indian names into English, since the meaning in English may be something quite different from the original. An example of this was an effort by an agent to change the name of a Pawnee Indian from "Fearing a Bear that is Wild" to Fearing B. Wilde, a name that did not stick. Tampering with the early English names given so haphazardly was also very difficult for the Indian to understand, although the ways of the white man were unexplainable anyway and if he wished to make his joke again, it could be accepted. There was no force to the argument that an English name would help to make the Indian equal to the white man as a citizen, for the Indian very often held the white man in contempt as one whose ideas were very unreasonable, as they often were, when there was no consideration of the Indian background and heritage.

This struggle with names might seem a small element in the adjustment of the Indian culture to that of the white man, but to the workers in the field it was a real problem, even almost down to our day. But in recent years both races have come to realize that the preservation of the dignified and easily handled Indian names is a custom to be followed and both the Indian and the white man are proud of these old names, even if their origins have been forgotten.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Award of Merit to the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society George H. Shirk

George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was voted an Award of Merit at the Annual Meeting of the American Association For State And Local History. It was the only such award granted to anyone in the southwest section of the United States, and was made to Mr. Shirk for "continued leadership in the interest and study of Oklahoma history". The Annual Meeting of the Association, at which the award was made, was held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, during mid-October, 1965.

Atoka A Place Name in Oklahoma

Mention of the "Atoka Club," an organization of young people of Sapulpa in 1903, is found in the story "Life and Society in Sapulpa" by Pauline Jackson in this number of *The Chronicles* (p. 305). There is an added statement saying that the name "Atoka was a Creek word meaning 'I labor on.'" This seems to be a cryptic reply to a question on the meaning of the name.

The *Muskokee Dictionary* (Creek) gives the word *etoh-kaletv* meaning "to assemble or mingle together." The name "Atoka" would be a mnemonic or abbreviated phrase remaining in the first three syllables of the word etoh-ka, spelled phonetically in English *Atoka*. This is an interesting bit of Oklahoma lore that could lead into a comparative study of the Creek (or Muskokee) and the Choctaw languages. The Creek and the Choctaw belong to the same American Indian linguistic stock though the people of the two tribes today do not understand one another when speaking in their native language. However, the old place name *Atoka* is well known in Oklahoma.

Atoka is the county seat of Atoka County, Oklahoma, the town named for old Atoka County organized about 1854 as one of the sixteen counties in the Choctaw Nation. This county was named for Captain Atoka, a notable Choctaw who came to the Indian Territory during the removal from Mississippi (1830's) at the head of his community that located about fifteen miles southeast of present Atoka, Oklahoma. Captain Atoka was a noted Choctaw ball player in his day, his name from the Choctaw word *hitoka* (or *hetoka*) meaning "a ball ground." The

English phonetic spelling "Atoka" would be from this Choctaw word with the first vowel (*i* or *e*) given the short sound, nearly as in the English word *end*. Large crowds gathered at the Choctaw ball ground to witness the ball game which held a place of great significance in old tribal life.

(M.H.W.)

Report from History Department Oklahoma State University

The following report has been received for notice in *The Chronicles,* from Dr. Homer L. Knight, Head of the Department of History, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma:

Report

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective during the summer of 1965: Alexander M. Ospovat was promoted to associate professor and received a National Science Foundation grant to do research in England and Germany on the history of science during the summer and autumn of 1965, during which he also lectured at the University of Freiberg. Alfred Levin, professor, returned from the University of Michigan, where he served as visiting professor of Russian history during the 1964-1965 academic year. Eldon L. Clemence, James M. Poteet, and Philip R. Rulon, all of Oklahoma State University, became instructors. Sidney D. Brown, associate professor, was visiting professor of history at the University of Nebraska during the summer. Joe Hubbell, part-time instructor, became assistant professor of history at Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Oklahoma. Wayne C. Bartee of Oklahoma Baptist University and Claude Levy of the State Teachers College of Dickinson, North Dakota, served as visiting associate professors of European history during the summer. Douglas D. Hale, Jr., assistant professor, served as director of the National Defense Education Act Summer Institute on Modern European History, in which forty teachers from twelve states participated. Peter Guenther of the University of Houston and Josef Anderle of the University of North Carolina were visiting lecturers in the Summer Institute on Modern European History. John L. Snell, professor of history and dean of the Graduate School of Tulane University, accepted the 1965 Summer Lectureship in History and spoke on problems of modern Germany.

BOOK REVIEWS

Oklahoma Place Names. By George H. Shirk (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1965. Pp. 228, $4.95.)

To do a review of *Oklahoma Place Names* is like making an analysis of the dictionary. The pertinent phases to be considered are content, accuracy, conciseness, and clarity. *Oklahoma Place Names,* by George H. Shirk, measures at the top in all of these.

When you examine the contents of this book, you find there is scarcely a crossroad or a post office location that has ever existed in Oklahoma, but what it is listed. In this respect, it is most comprehensive.

Apparently, the author has spared no effort in securing correct information. This is no mean accomplishment in a topic that encompasses the materials of local history. The researcher in such a field will frequently find a multitude of conflicting stories and evidences. To sift fact from fancy is frequently fraught with an array of frustrations. The proof that author Shirk has done his homework well is borne out when anyone examines the validity of statements he makes concerning the origin of place names in Oklahoma.

One of the elements that is always paramount, in any written material that consists mainly of a listing, is that of conciseness. A multiplicity of details will ruin any such work. In this book conciseness is made a virtue.

It is proverbial that anything spoken or written which is not clear to the listener or reader, might as well not have been said or written. Although this is a scholarly work, it does not require a scholar to unravel its meaning. It was written for the general public, and the general public can understand it.

All in all, the writing of such a book as *Oklahoma Place Names* has long been overdue. Not since Charles N. Gould's *Oklahoma Place Names,* published in 1933, has any serious work been attempted in this field.

We predict that Shirk's book on Oklahoma Place Names will soon be considered an essential working tool for any Oklahoma editor, writer, or just plain citizen interested in the story of his state.

—Elmer L. Fraker

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City

The Wire That Fenced the West. By Henry D. and Frances T. McCallum. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1965. p. 285. $5.95.)

One can be reasonably certain that there are many, many people who did not know that so much could be told about that prickly, twisted strand of galvanized steel called "bob wire." The authors have neatly wrapped up in one book, the turbulent history of barbed-wire fencing and the influence it had on the development of that area of the nation west of the Mississippi.

It was at a county fair at DeKalb, Illinois in 1873 that three men—Joseph F. Glidden, I. L. Ellwood, and Jacob Haish—became interested in a curious sample of armored fencing with barbs. From this simple beginning, came a completely new concept in fencing. Before its invention in 1873, fences were intended to keep animals and trespassers out; after it came into general use, barbed-wire fencing was used to keep animals in.

The history of barbed-wire is crowded with big men playing for high stakes. There were fortunes to be made, but first a market had to be created. Once patents were issued (more than 400 by 1900) and the manufacture of the wire begun, it became the job of the "big three" to work for the acceptance of the newfangled invention.

The competition between the new companies and their promotional schemes makes up the best part of the book. In the beginning, there was no middle ground; one was either thankfully for, or violently against barbed-wire. Those who could foresee the end of the "open-range" would not readily accept the idea of fences. This bitterness resulted in many tragic "fence cutting" wars throughout the west.

This new concept in fencing, however simple it was, added a great force to the complex opening of the American west. The complete economic structure of the range cattle industry was changed, as the day of the free open range faded and the day of the landowner began.

The authors have included, in this clear, concise chronicle, detailed drawings (with accompanying text) of thirty-six of the most important types of barbed-wire. These were taken from Mr. McCallum's own extensive collection and should prove of great interest to other collectors.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

The Western Hero in History and Legend. By Kent Ladd Steckmesser. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1965. Pp. xiii, 281. Illus. $5.95.)

It is a chancy business to try to present both sides of the picture in writing about any well-known frontier character. The risks involved in dealing in this way with more than one are really appalling. And when a writer selects four such controversial personalities as Kit Carson, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok, and George Armstrong Custer, he has really demonstrated courage.

However, Mr. Steckmesser has brought it off. In each case he presents as much as can be ascertained of the pertinent biographical facts. This section is followed by one giving the black and one giving the white interpretation of the character, and by a fourth section, in which Mr. Steckmesser attempts to sum up the others in the light of history.

To a reviewer who lived for several years in New Mexico, controversy about Kit Carson seems far-fetched. He was a capable guide and a better-than-average Indian agent for his day, and there, locally, the matter rests. Fremont and Buffalo Bill between them blew him up larger than life size, and the dime novelists ballooned the image. The Carson of fact has almost disappeared; what remains is a peg on which to hang all the frontier mountain-man legends.

Billy the Kid was and is as debatable a personality in New Mexico as in the pages of fiction. He has his *afficianados* and his detractors. The conflicts will never be resolved, for Billy died young, and it is his youth that is remembered and romanticized; his youth which is pitied and condemned, to this day. One wonders how Bill would have turned out if he had lived another ten years. Or could he, one also wonders, possibly have survived so long?

Wild Bill Hockok may have been the prototype of frontier law marshals, or he may have been a gunman with a badge. He certainly lacked the responsibility and respectability of Kit Carson's later days; he was not as irresponsible as Billy the Kid, but he did use his position as marshal to justify the abrupt endings of some private feuds in Wild Bill's favor. He may or may not have made Calamity Jane his mistress; she said he did and he said he didn't. About Wild Bill there is still much to be said.

But is there anything left to say about Custer? He has been studied, discussed, praised, blamed, psycho-analyzed post mortem, and generally discussed for almost a hundred years. He is a man of cycles; adoration and detestation alternate in public

attitudes concerning him to a surprising degree. Anyone who has heard his story from the Indian side; who with Cheyenne survivors, has visited and walked over the Little Big Horn Battlefield, can come to only one conclusion: Custer, for all his dash and all his glory-seeking just wasn't right bright in the head when he exposed his command to full view of an Indian army, on top of a ridge which could be encircled and cut off on all sides from relieving forces. Custer, in our contemporary slang "wasn't dig."

Mr. Steckmesser has been eminently fair to each of his characters. He does not pretend to have said the last word on any of them; only to have summed up the evidence available to date. And very clear and capable summing up it is. The University of Oklahoma Press can be congratulated on its selection of this book.

—Alice Marriott

Oklahoma City

The Ku Klux Klan in The Southwest. By Charles C. Alexander. (Lexington University of Kentucky Press, 1965. Pp. ix, 288. $6.00.)

A child stood on a street corner in downtown Oklahoma City, clutching a parent by either hand. It was in the middle twenties, and the country was recovering from a war and a depression. Before them passed a line of men, hooded and masked, draped in white robes or in sheets. They carried signs, reading, "Down with the dirty Catholics," "We Stand For Purity," "We are men from every walk of life."

The last sign led her eyes downward. Business men's oxfords, laborers' thick heavy laced shoes, cowboy boots, one or two pairs of patent-leather dress shoes, even Indian moccasins, were moving over the pavement, below the sheets, walking irregularly but ominously forward. It was a sign and a moment not to forget.

Two years later she was a reporter for her Junior High School paper. With a genuine press pass—her first and only—tightly clutched, she gained admission to the Chamber where the State Legislature read the bill of impeachment against the state's governor. And never to be forgotten, again, was the sigh that went through that roomful of grown men when the words, "Consorting and conspiring with the Ku Klux Klan . . ." were read out.

A long time has passed since those two events. The Klan came to Oklahoma, it rose to power, it dwindled and almost died. But in recent years there has been a revival of the Klan in

other southern and semi-southern states, and perhaps it will return to Oklahoma again, drawing into a network of self-righteousness, men from every walk of life.

For, as Dr. Alexander points out, in selecting Oklahoma as the archtypical state for the Klan revival of the twenties, the great emphasis of the Klan in the Southwest was moralistic. Anti-semitism hardly existed in the area; Catholics were few and far between, and those few were feared and hated largely because they were "foreign," than for any other reason.

The Klan of the twenties, in the Southwest, devoted itself to minding other people's business. It took the law into its own hands; often masked vigilantes by night were law officers by day. How much repressed sadism, and how many private feuds, were released under the cover of night and bed sheets will probably never be known. It is sufficient to remember the fear the words "Ku Klux Klan" inspired at the time, and the relieved disgust when rituals and titles were published in the papers, and the absurdity of terminology was recognizable.

Dr. Alexander has done a scholarly and long-needed piece of research in this book. He has presented his material objectively and clearly. The book is an essential part of any library that is concerned with contemporary problems or with those of the recent past. There are quotable lines in the text: " . . . the chief value of local, state, and regional history is the opportunity to examine the validity of accepted generalizations about broad, variegated national movements"; and "During the war (World War I) the American people had been subjected to the first systematic, nationwide propaganda campaign in the history of the Republic." Both are worth remembering.

Putting regional history into focus with a nation's history is no small task, but it is one that Dr. Alexander has accomplished well. He has written an excellent book.

The University of Kentucky Press is to be congratulated on design, format, and selection of *The Ku Klux Klan in The Southwest.*

—Alice Marriott
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Lost Universe. By Dr. Gene Weltfish. (Basic Books, Inc., New York, New York, 1965. p. 506. Notes and Comments, Bibliography, and Index. Charts and diagrams. $12.50.)

The Lost Universe is an ethnological description of the life of the Skidi Band of the Pawnee in the year 1867. At that time the Pawnees were living around Genoa, Nebraska. Although un-

der the protection of the United States Government, they still lived in earth lodges, conducted their bi-annual buffalo hunts, planted their gardens, and worshipped their Gods.

Dr. Weltfish was fortunate in having, during her eight years of field research, 1928 to 1936, as her principal informant Mark Evarts, a Pawnee who spent his young life living in the traditional Pawnee manner. *The Lost Universe,* while based primarily on Mark Evarts' accounts of Pawnee culture, combine data elicited from other Pawnee informants who lived during the years of transition from the non-white culture to the acceptance of American life. In addition, *The Lost Universe* integrates the available historical, ethnological, and archaeological literature into a basic ethnological account of a people.

Dr. Weltfish, who was a student of Franz Boas at Columbia University, follows in the footsteps of her teacher, in recording the details of native Indian life. She writes about real people, gives detailed information regarding family relations, farming, hunting routes and customs, and brings the religious beliefs of the Pawnee into focus with a unified system.

The basic data presented by Dr. Weltfish places this study on the Pawnee among the great basic books of anthropology. Students of Plains Indian culture will refer to this volume as students of the Great Lakes area refer to Paul Radin's "Winnebago," or as students of the southwest return to Matilda Stevenson's works for basic data.

While *The Lost Universe* covers all of Pawnee culture, some of the elements are more fully presented than others. Dr. Weltfish who has spent her entire life in an urban community has some difficulty in reporting the rural life of the Pawnee. Throughout the book the influence of religion on the Pawnee is evident. The Pawnee concept of themselves as part of the universe emerges with every aspect of Pawnee life and thought.

Dr. Weltfish is devoted to the Pawnee, which is understandable. Thirty-seven years of concentrated effort upon one group of people is bound to produce ethnocentrism. This ethnocentric approach gives the book richness. However, it does not place the Pawnee in proper perspective to Plains Indian life in general.

A more comprehensive index would have increased the value of the book for the scholar. The notes and comments give additional insight into Pawnee life and cultural relations. One is left wishing that Dr. Weltfish had added an extra chapter to the volume, which would cogently present her interpretation of the origin of Pawnee culture. Did Pawnee culture come out of the lower Mississippi River region? Was it formed from a combina-

tion of a northern hunting people and a southern agriculture people? These and many more questions will plague students of culture history for many years to come.

In the last chapter, "The Universe Regained," Dr. Weltfish makes reference to contemporary problems which Pawnee life throws into perspective. This chapter will be provocative reading for the student of culture.

Basic Books, Inc., has published a distinguished text. It is a pity that the book does not have a more substantial binding and wider inside margins for library rebinding. *The Lost Universe* will be used over and over again by lovers of the West, Indian historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and those enjoying the adventure of a book. The opinions of a reviewer are important, but the opinions of the people who are the subject of the book are the test of validity and endurance to posterity.

This reviewer has been privileged to discuss *The Lost Universe* with several descendents of the individuals written about in this volume. The great-grandaughter of Lone Chief said: "This is just the way the old people told it. This is how I learned it. In this book there is more than they told at one time. Everything is here—the whole story of the Pawnee. I am going to teach my children from this book."

—Carol K. Rachlin

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Music of The Pawnee: Documentary recording of 45 Pawnee Indian songs as recorded by Dr. Gene Weltfish, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Madison, New Jersey. Sung by Mark Evarts. (Folkways Records Album No. FE 4334. 1-12" 33 1/3 rpm longplay. Folkways Records, 165 West 46th Street, New York City, New York. $6.95.)

Music of The Pawnee is an auditory experience to accompany the book *Lost Universe* by Dr. Gene Weltfish. Forty-five Pawnee Indian songs were recorded in 1936, by Mark Evarts, Pawnee informant for Dr. Weltfish. It was the intention to give an example of each kind of Pawnee music as a record of musical styles. The songs recorded include Handgame Songs, Ghost Dance Handgame Songs, War Dance Songs, War Songs, Love Songs—men's and women's, Peyote Songs, Buffalo Dance Songs, Hoop and Pole Game Songs, Song to the Mother Corn, Lullaby, Deer Dance Songs, Religious Songs, Songs of the Doctor's Society, Society Songs, Sacred Bundle Songs.

Mark Evarts sings the songs in the old Pawnee language, while he accompanies himself on a water drum. To the ethno—

musicologist, the collector of Indian music, and the lover of exotic music, this album will be a treat. To the novice in Indian music the old-style Plains Indian music may sound strange. If one keeps listening, the melody of another era will emerge from the excellent recording.

An authoritative opinion of the records was given this reviewer by Mr. K. D. Edwards, Comanche, who is a "maker of Indian songs," and a noted singer and drummer throughout the Oklahoma Indian world. Mr. Edwards said: "These are really old songs. You don't hear anything like that up at Pawnee today. There are songs that you sing and songs that you listen to. These are songs that you listen to. You can see how Indian music has changed just by listening to those songs."

Folkways Records has added another distinguished album to their collection. It is a shame they did not mark the record jacket more clearly with price and record playing information. The record plays only on a stereo machine.

An eleven page booklet written by Dr. Weltfish, accompanies the album. Pertinent information regarding Pawnee life and the background for the songs, is provided. In addition, Dr. Weltfish, a student of the Pawnee language, provides a literal translation of the words of the recorded songs. The pamphlet adds additional value to this outstanding recording.

The old Pawnee music is gone. The new music, while retaining the Pawnee style, has been influenced by Plains Indian music generally, reconstructed remembrances of old songs, and the need for modern auditory appeal. Never again will another anthropologist have a chance to record old Pawnee music. The people are gone and with them the old songs and the old ways.

Dr. Weltfish and Folkways Records have provided music lovers and ethno-musicologists with a rare document.

—Carol K. Rachlin

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGIES

OREL BUSBY
1889-1965

Orel Busby, former justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, prominent Ada attorney, rancher, conservationist, and member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, died May 15, 1965, following a heart attack.

He was born February 6, 1889, in Batesville, Arkansas, the son of George W. Busby. In the same year, the family moved to Indian Territory and settled at Allen, later moving to Ada and then to Konawa.

Busby attended school in Ada and Konawa, graduating from Konawa High School and then attending Oklahoma University for two years. In 1909 he entered the new East Central Normal at Ada and was a member of its first graduating class. He began teaching in Seminole County; and while he was principal of the Konawa school he was elected mayor of the town — the first step in a long political career.

In 1914 he received his law degree from the University of Oklahoma. He had been admitted to the Oklahoma bar a year earlier, in 1913.

In 1912, while he was attending the University, he organized the Young Men's Democratic Club and was elected the first president. Politically rebellious youngsters flocked to the organization, which grew into the League of Young Democrats and spread, not only across the state but the entire nation. In 1961 he was given a banquet of appreciation by the state organization which was attended at Ada by members of the Oklahoma Congressional delegation from Washington, and at which Sam Rayburn, then Speaker of the House, was the principal speaker. U. S. Senator Robert S. Kerr, Congressman Tom Steed, and Governor J. Howard Edmondson attended.

Also during Busby's time at the University he was editor of the University newspaper, "The Umpire." Always interested in journalism, he helped to found the OU chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, national journalistic fraternity.

He returned to Ada to practice law, but was almost immediately again in public life. In 1916 he was elected county judge and served two terms. In 1926 he was elected district judge; and though he was re-elected in 1930 he ran for justice of the Supreme Court in 1932 and was elected. He served on the higher court five years.

Returning once more to Ada, he established the law firm of Busby, Harrell and Trice, which continued until 1954. At the time of his death he was the senior member of Busby, Stanfield and Orton.

In 1942 he campaigned for the United States Senate but lost the nomination to Josh Lee.

From 1925 to 1926 he was a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma.

In 1926 he began putting together the 4B Ranch, which eventually grew to about 6,500 acres between Ada and Allen. Through his ranching activities he became interested in conservation work and was one

JUDGE OREL BUSBY

of the first backers of the Muddy Boggy watershed plan. He also worked for the conservation and propagation of game.

His territorial background gave Busby an interest in local history. As a member of the board of directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, he contributed articles to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

He was a member of the American and Oklahoma bar associations, and a Fellow of the American College of Trial Lawyers. In college he was a member of Sigma Nu (social), Phi Delta Phi (legal) and Sigma Delta Chi (journalistic) fraternities.

Busby served as a member of the Oklahoma Memorial Association and was a former president of that group. He was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in November, 1963.

—W. L. KNICKMEYER

Ada, Oklahoma

ELMER THOMAS
1876-1965

Elmer Thomas was born September 8, 1876, in Greencastle, Indiana. He was the son of William Thomas and Elizabeth (Ewing) Thomas. He received his early education in the public schools of Greencastle. After he graduated from high school he entered DePauw University where he did odd jobs to pay his way. After completing his college courses he received a law degree from DePauw University and was admitted to the Indiana bar in 1900.

The same year he moved to Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, Where he set up law practice. While in Oklahoma City he was active in the Chamber of Commerce and was instrumental, with others, in getting President McKinley to set aside an area in the Wichita Mountains of southwestern Oklahoma for a national forest preserve. Elmer Thomas came to Lawton July 29, 1901, a few days before the country was open for settlement. Lawton was just a name and a prairie when he arrived at the townsite.

He began the practice of law in the new town of Lawton August 6, 1901, and soon became well established in his profession. In 1902 he married Edith Smith, of Corsicana, Texas and they established their home in Lawton.

His first political experience was making stump speeches in his home state of Indiana, supporting William Jennings Bryan for President. He was only nineteen years old at that time. In 1907 when Oklahoma became a state he was a candidate and elected to the office of State Senator in Oklahoma. He served with distinction in this office until 1920.

For ten years he was chairman of the powerful State Senate Appropriations Committee. He helped create the present system of state finances. It was under his supervision that construction of Oklahoma's state capitol was financed. He served one term as State Senate President pro tempore during his tenure in the legislature.

Thomas resigned from the State Legislature in 1920 to run for Congress from the old 7th district. He was defeated during the Harding landslide of that year, but ran again in 1922 and won. He was reelected to the House in 1924. In 1926 he ran for United States Senator defeating the incumbent, J. W. Harreld. He served in the Senate with

UNITED STATES SENATOR, ELMER THOMAS

the late Senator W. B. Pine, until Pine was replaced by the late Senator Thomas P. Gore, also of Lawton. Senator Thomas was reelected three times to the United States Senate being defeated by Mike Monroney in 1950. He was a friend of the Indian. He was active in Indian welfare work and fought for better supervision of Indian affairs. He served as chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs.

His vision and work resulted in the Lake Lawtonka water supply for the Lawton-Fort Sill area, the establishment of Medicine Park as a summer resort, and he was successful in having a State Fish hatchery located near Medicine Park. Thomas sold his interest in the Park when he was elected to the United States Senate in 1926. He sponsored a project to build a scenic auto road to the top of Mt. Scott in the early 1930's.

Senator Thomas was among Senate leaders called in to conference early in World War II and advised that an A-bomb could be made, and was in the process of development.

He was the author of several books, including *Financial Engineering, Forty Years a Legislator.* His latest book, *Auto-biography of an Enigma — The Dollar,* was in the hands of a New York publisher at the time of his death which occurred Sunday, September 19, 1965, in Lawton. He is survived by a son, W. S. Thomas, a brother Fred Thomas, and three grandchildren.

In his passing Oklahoma has lost one of her most distinguished public servants.

HUGH D. CORWIN

Lawton, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 29, 1965

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was convened by President George H. Shirk in the Board of Directors Room at 10:00 a.m. on July 29, 1965.

Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker called the roll. Board members present were: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Mr. Bob Foresman, Mr. Morton R. Harrison, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

Board members not in attendance were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. James D. Morrison, and Mr. Fisher Muldrow.

It was moved by Miss Seger that all members who had so requested be excused. The motion was seconded by Judge Clift and passed by the Board.

President Shirk presented to the Board a large gavel that had been made by a group of students attending Central High School and had been used in San Francisco at the adoption of the United Nations Charter, June 26, 1945.

Mr. Finney made a motion that the Publications Committee place a memorial to Judge Orel Busby in the next issue of "The Chronicles of Oklahoma." This motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips, and the motion was passed by the Board.

Making his report on the gifts and memberships received during the quarter, the Administrative Secretary stated there were thirty-five new Annual Members and no new Life Members to be elected, and a number of gifts and donations to be accepted. Mr. Harrison moved that the memberships and gifts be approved, and Mr. McBride seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

In continuing his remarks, Mr. Fraker stated that the oil exhibit on the society grounds had been sandblasted and painted, adding that the exhibit as yet had been of no expense to the Oklahoma Historical Society except for a nominal travel expense.

The Administrative Secretary also placed before the Board a resolution concerning the sale of surplus land owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society surrounding Sequoyah's home site. He stated there were 45 acres of land surrounding this historic site, and that only ten of the forty-five acres of land were of any real value to the Oklahoma Historical Society. After considerable discussion, Mr. McIntosh moved that a special committee be appointed by the President to investigate all aspects of the surplus land at the Sequoyah home and give a report of its findings at the next Board meeting. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which was adopted. President Shirk appointed the following as members of this special committee: Mr. Foresman, Chairman, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. McIntosh.

At this point the President introduced special guests. Among these were Mayor Nolan Fuqua of Duncan who was accompanied by

Mr. Henderson. Mrs. Owen Dulaney, who is Vice-Chairman of The Oklahoma City Beautiful Committee, was also a visitor and was introduced by President Shirk.

The Treasurer's report for the fourth quarter of 1964-1965 was made by Mrs. Bowman. It reflected that all accounts of the Society were in sound financial shape. President Shirk recommended that the Board consider forgiving the unpaid balance yet due the Endowment Fund. Mr. Phillips made the motion that the balance due the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Endowment Fund amounting to $930.24 for the fiscal year 1963-1964 be forgiven. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion. The motion passed.

It was moved by Judge Clift and seconded by Mr. Miller that the report of the Treasurer be received and approved, which motion was then adopted.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Treasurer be thanked for a year of excellent service. Mr. Miller seconded the motion, and it was unanimously adopted.

A motion was made by Mr. McBride that the Board express its commendation and appreciation to the Robert S. Kerr Foundation for its plans to convert the home of the late Senator Kerr into a western heritage museum, and also to develop the historic sites in the area; and that the Board offer full and enthusiastic support to these plans; also complimenting them on their choosing of Mr. Elbert Costner as director of this project. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion, which was adopted when put.

The Library Committee's report was given by the Administrative Secretary in the absence of Mr. Joe Curtis. He stated that Mrs. Jackson had resigned after having served one month as Librarian, but that a new librarian, Mrs. Zelma Simpson, had been secured to begin work in aproximately one week. It was his stated opinion that Mrs. Simpson is the type of person who will create an atmosphere of quietness and study essential to library management.

Mr. Phillips reported for the Microfilm Committee, saying that the microfilm department was buying a new camera to replace an older model.

The Administrative Secretary gave the Legislative Committee report remarking that the Society had been very fortunate, as far as the regular appropriation measure was concerned, in receiving an increase of from $110,000.00 to $124,000.00 per annum.

The Historic Sites Committee report was given by Mr. McIntosh. A monument commemorating the Battle of Cabin Creek and several acres of ground had been donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, with the provisions that nothing on the monument was to be changed including the inscription thereon, and that the Society would maintain the grounds on which the monument stood. Mr. McIntosh moved that the gift be accepted by the Board, and Mr. Harrison seconded the motion. The motion was passed unanimously by the Board.

Mr. Fraker announced that $5,000.00 had been appropriated to the Historical Society for the purchase of each of the following historic sites; Wigwam Neosho, Coweta Mission, and Tallahassee Mission. This is a total of $15,000.00. Mr. Phillips made a motion that the President appoint a special committee to discharge the Society's responsibilities rel-

ative to House Bill #1019, which contained the appropriations for the three sites, and Mr. Miller seconded the motion. The motion passed. The members appointed to this committee were: Mr. Boydstun and Mr. Mountcastle.

President Shirk remarked as to the excellence of the 1965 Annual Tour. He said he considered it to be one of the very best tours ever conducted. It was pointed out that the tour was held in conjunction with the final activities of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. Mr. Shirk praised the program arranged by Dr. James Morrison at the dedication of the Fort Washita Restoration. He said that despite a downpour of rain, which interrupted for a time the activities, the program was outstanding and the crowd large. In commenting on the Fort Towson pageant produced before approximately 3,500 people, on July 23rd, President Shirk asserted that it was one of the best outdoor programs it had ever been his privilege to witness. The pageant portrayed the surrender of Confederate Brigadier General Stand Watie, which had taken place exactly 100 years before and was the last such surrender made by a Confederate General Officer.

It was moved by Dr. Dale, with a second by Miss Seger, that a certificate of commendation be presented to Miss Dorothy Orton for the fine manner in which she had arranged the Fort Towson program. Also included in the motion was the recommendation that a certificate of commendation be presented to Joseph Opala, a high school student, for his voluntary work at the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. Mr. Fraker had high praise for Joseph. The motion was passed unanimously by the Board.

Miss Seger moved that a commendation certificate be presented to J. E. Heuston of Tishomingo for his work in representing the Society at the Tishomingo Centennial on July 3, 1965. The motion was seconded and adopted.

President Shirk expressed appreciation to Mr. Fraker, Mr. Dale and Mr. Peck for their fine part in Oklahoma City's 75th Government Anniversary, by setting up exhibits in windows of stores in large shopping districts. Mr. McBride moved that commendation be given them, also recommending commendation to Mrs. Williams, former Society librarian. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and adopted.

President Shirk asked that he vacate the chair long enough to make a motion that a portrait of Mr. Roscoe Dunjee be placed in the portrait gallery. Mr. Dunjee, he reported, had been the Editor of the *Black Dispatch* newspaper for a number of years. With Vice-President Phillips presiding, Miss Seger seconded this motion, which was carried.

A special committee was appointed at this time by President Shirk to work with the Governor on the 60th Anniversary of the State of Oklahoma. Serving on this committee will be Mr. Harrison as Chairman, Mr. Foresman, and Miss Seger.

Another special committee was appointed by the President to work with the officials of Texas and Kansas relative to the Chisholm Trail Centennial, which has been set for the year 1967. Appointed to this committee were: Mr. Finney, Chairman, Mr. Fraker as Director of the Committee work, Mr. Bass, Miss Seger, Judge Clift and Mrs. Bowman.

At this point Mr. Harrison presented a plate to the Oklahoma Historical Society commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the State. The plate is Caselton China, which is the china used for all special occasions at the White House, is decorated with 22 karat gold, and the

colors used are positive mineral. Actual reproductions of the signatures of the various governors of the state were used on the plate, and it is a "collector's item" because only 240 of these plates were made for Oklahoma's Semi-Centennial Anniversary. The design on the plate was done by Mr. Bryce Roby, who is a recognized authority on the quality of china, and Mr. Harrison. Mr. Phillips moved acceptance of the gift and Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion. When put to a vote, the motion was passed unanimously.

It being determined there was no further business to come before the Board, Judge Clift moved the meeting be adjourned. Miss Seger seconded the motion. The motion was carried, and adjournment was had at 12:00 o'clock noon.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN SECOND QUARTER

LIBRARY:

Community Reactions to Sonic Booms in the Oklahoma City Area by Paul N. Borsky of National Opinion Research Center, February, 1965.
Sonic-Boom Exposures During FAA Community Response Studies Over A Six Month Period in the Oklahoma City Area by David A. Hilton, Vera Huckel, Roy Steiner, and Domenic J. Maglieri, 1964 at the Langley Research Center, Hampton, Virginia.
Final Program Summary: Oklahoma City Sonic Boom Study. February 3-July 30, 1964 Office of Deputy Administrator for Supersonic Transport Development, FAA in Washington, D.C., March 17, 1965.
Final Report: Meteorological Aspects of the Sonic Boom, September, 1964 prepared by the Boeing Co., Airplane Division, Renton, Washington.
Final Report: Structural Response to Sonic Booms, February, 1965 Vol. I and Vol. II Office of Deputy Administrator for Supersonic Transport Development of the FAA, Washington, D.C.
Preliminary Data Sonic Boom Structural Response Test Program, White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico, November 1964 - February 1965 from Office of Deputy Administrator for Supersonic Transport Development, FAA in Washington, D.C., March 17, 1965.
Donor: Gordon M. Bain, Deputy Administrator, Supersonic Transport Development of the Federal Aviation Agency, Washington, D.C.

American Glass — The Fine Art of Glassmaking in America by George L. and Helen McKearin, 1963.
Presented to the Research Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society in Memory of Mrs. Elmer L. Fraker.
Donor: Dr. Clifford L. Lord.

Roll of Shawnee Cherokees, Prepared under the Act of March 2, 1889 (25 Stat. 994).
Donor: Wilma J. Shawnee, 9020 S.E. 25th, Oklahoma City.

Seventy-Five Years of Public Health in Oklahoma, 1964, compiled by Eula Fullerton and H. J. Darcey.
Donor: Oklahoma State Health Department, Oklahoma City.

Pamphlet: "Seventy-Fifth Roundup of The Blue and The Gray."
Donor: Mrs. Ethel Coppadge through Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater.

National Sculpture Review, Fall 1964.
Donor: Bryant Baker, 222 Central Park South, New York.

Pamphlet: "The Role of Local History" by James C. Olson, President of American Association for State and Local History. This is complete text of address delivered at Twenty-fourth annual meeting in Oklahoma City, October 29, 1964.
Donor: American Association for State and Local History.

A Purgatory Made of a Paradise—A Three Act Play by Ira Nathan Terrill. Edited by Students in "Oklahoma History, 162", Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma. Sponsored by Payne County Historical Society, Stillwater; Early Day Settlers, Inc., Guthrie, Oklahoma and Copyright, 1965 by the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
Oklahoma City: From Private Land to Private Property by Dr. B. B. Chapman.
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Map: Pushmataha County N/2 — Location of Tuskahoma.
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Color Prints of Heavener Rune Stone, Poteau Mountain Area, and Robbers Cave State Park, April of 1965.
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Autographed Edition—*This is Three Forks Country* — A Collection of Tales of History, Adventure and Legend of Eastern Oklahoma compiled from "Round-Up" columns appearing in Sunday editions of the *Musokgee Daily Phoenix* written by Phil Harris of Muskogee, Oklahoma.
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Garden Club Notebooks of El Reno, Oklahoma.
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Microfilm: Records of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Co., Roll I, Vols. 7-8; 22-23, Historical Data.
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Cherokee Primer—Compiled by Dr. Willard Walker, 1965 of the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago at Tahlequah, Oklahoma.
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"Cherokee Numerals, Names, Districts" list compiled by Gid Graham, D. J. Faulkner, Mollie Terrapin and Chief J. B. Milam, April, 1949.
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A Students' Guide to Localized History—Booklet Series, Edited by Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University. State booklets received to date:
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"Early Oklahoma Sketch: Kiowa" by Clarence A. Powell in *Arizona Quarterly,* Spring, 1965.
"Oklahoma Reminiscence" by Clarence A. Powell in *Prairie Schooner,* Spring, 1955.

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"Some Notes on Early Oklahoma" by Clarence A. Powell in *Kansas Magazine Annual,* 1960.
Leaflet regarding life and works of Clarence A. Powell.
Donor: Clarence A. Powell, 14868 Forrer Avenue, E., Detroit, Michigan.

Microfilm: 1830 Kentucky Census Population for Christian-Fayette Counties.
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Paperback edition: *Oklahoma Comes of Age* by Campbell Osborn, 1965.
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Thesis: *The Oklahoma Free Homes Bill (1892-1900)* by Vernon S. Braswell.
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Blue Jacket, Warchief of the Shawnees by John Bennett.
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The Message of Logan—Attested by Thomas Jefferson.
Donor: Mrs. Maxine L. Kinton, Mansfield, Ohio.

Destruction of Awatobi by Leslie A. McRill, 1965 Hardback edition.
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Term Report: "The Battle of Pea Ridge" by James M. Daniels, May 10, 1965.
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The History of the Delta Kappa Gamma Society in Oklahoma from Alpha to Omega by Jessie D. Newby, 1945.
Donor: Dr. Jessie Newby Ray, Edmond, Oklahoma.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly for March, June and Sept., 1963.
Donor: Mrs. Frank Grass, Oklahoma City.

Maps of World War II of Oklahoma's 45th Thunderbird Division: Route and Successive locations of 45th Division Headquarters in Sicily; Italian War & Navy Dept. Agencies. Sheet #27. Anzio Beach-Head, Break-Out and Command Post Divisional Situations in May of 1944 of the 45th Division. Sheet #17. Salerno Beach-Head, Sept. 9, 1944 at 11:00 a.m. with numbers indicating successive locations and days of such locations. Italian War & Navy Dept. Agencies. Sheet #41.
Official Pamphlet—*Dachau* Concentration Camp 1933-1945 in Nazi Germany. Compiled by Col. Wm. W. Quinn, G.S.C., 7th U.S.A. Army of Liberation on April 29, 1945.
Donor: Col. Henry J. Hort, 45th Division Signal Corps, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Controversial Mark Hopkins—The Great Swindle of American History, by Estelle Latta.
Donor: Wallace Martin Holland, Westminster, S. C.

General Survey Report No. 6: Oklahoma River Basin Survey Project, April 1, 1965. University of Oklahoma Research Institute.
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An Archaeological Survey of Birch Creek Reservoir by Thomas P. Barr.
Donor: Don G. Wyckoff, Norman, Oklahoma.

Official Historical Markers of Wisconsin.
Donor: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

The Burton Lecture Booklet: "The Great Lakes and the Great Rivers: Jonathan Carver's Dream of Empire" by John Parker.
Donor: Historical Society of Michigan, Lansing.

Thirtieth Biennial Report of the State Department of Education of Oklahoma, 1964.
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The National Woman's Relief Corps Journal of National Convention, 1964.
Donor: Jessie H. Johnston, President.

Christmas Cards with pictures of Drilling Oil Wells and Various Type Rigs 1924-1964.
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Guthrie Daily Leader, 1965 issues containing article, "Pleasant Valley's Colorful History" by M. C. Rouse.
Donor: M. C. Rouse, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Chickasaw Indian Recipes, compiled by Mrs. Adeline Brown of Fillmore, Oklahoma and Mrs. Vera Taylor, Home Demonstration Agent of Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Booklet distributed at Tishomingo's observance of its founding, 1965.
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Microfilm: 1870 Pennsylvania Census, Roll #338, Columbia and Crawford Counties.
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1861-1961 Commemorative Composite Pictures of Confederate and Union Commanders and Generals of the Civil War.
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Certificates in Oklahoma Rebekah Assembly I.O.O.F. Sunbeam Lodge No. 53 of Ella Stotts, Mishak, Oklahoma, 1904-1907.
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"From Cowboy to Federal and State Bar."
Picture of Eureka School of Music, Wolfe, Indian Territory, October of 1907.
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Collection of Duplicate *Congressional Record.*
Donor: D.A.R. Library of Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Indian Voices, April 1965, and June 1965.
Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor

Plat showing location buildings at Sac & Fox Agency, I.T., in October 1889
Plat showing location buildings at Sac & Fox Agency, I.T., in 1899
Article, "Speculators and the Land Openings of Sept. 22, 1891," by B. B. Chapman
Three (3) documents in re Rufus Hudson, Choctaw: Homestead patent to land in Chickasaw Nation; Order for removal of restrictions; General Warranty Deed of land in Carter Co., Okla., from Hudson to M. J. Mueller.

Photostat Birth Certificate of Isom Perry Thomas, Choctaw, in his application for citizenship.
Order of McCurtain County, Okla., Court of April 16, 1918, re Estate of Simeon Thompson, deceased, Choctaw.
Affidavit of William J. Blanton that he is the person whose name appears as William B. Blanton in abstract of title to Lot 9, Block 23, in Purnell, now Idabel, Okla.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Okla.

Historical Leaflet: "The Arkansas: A River to Cross"
Donor: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History & Art.

Photostat copy of page of newspaper, *The Mount Scott Signal,* of Jan. 10, 1903.
Donor: Hugh Corwin, Lawton, Okla.

Brochure relative to the Chief John Vann House at Spring Place. Ga.
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Photostat copy of letter signed by Chief & Head Men, Creek Nation, to Commission of Indian Affairs, re claim of Creek Nation vs. U.S., and requesting Creek Agent Col. W. H. Garrett be present during approaching session Congress.
Donor: Mrs. George Warren, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Dec. 1964 and March 1965.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Zerox copy Absentee Shawnee Tribal Membership Roll of August 20, 1964.
Donor: Anadarko Area Office, Anadarko, Okla.

Patent Lot 23, Block 12, Caddo, Okla., to Choctaw National Bank, Caddo, Aug. 9, 1905.
Warranty Deed May 22, 1911 from D. S. Johnston to Presbyterian Church, Caddo, to Lots 5 and 6, Block 22, Caddo.
Township plats, Townships 3, 4 and 5 North, Range 17 West; Township 3 North, Range 15 West; Townships 4 and 5 North, Range 16 West, and Townships 3, 4 and 5 North, Range 18 West.
Donor: Clayton Babcock, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Miscellaneous group of letters, documents, pamphlets re the Chickasaw Indians, Julia Chisholm Davenport, Stella Chisholm Ward, Juanita Johnston Smith, Bloomfield Seminary, etc.
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RECORDS: U.S. INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION:

Absentee Delaware Tribe of Okla. vs. U.S. Docket No. 337
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Order allowing fees to attorneys for Sac & Fox of Oklahoma, of Missouri and of the Mississippi in Iowa

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Sac & Fox of Oklahoma, of Missouri, and of the Mississippi in Iowa vs. U.S. Docket No. 232
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Otoe and Missouria Tribe vs. U.S. Docket No. 11A.
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Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, Missouri and the Mississippi in Iowa vs. U.S. Docket No. 138. Sac & Fox of Oklahoma, Missouri and Mississippi in Iowa vs. U.S. Docket No. 232.
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Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma, et al., vs. U.S. Docket No. 65
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House being moved to Claim
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Home of Douglas H. Johnston, Governor of Chickasaw Nation
George Perry and Family
Bloomfield Seminary
Grand-children of Jesse Chisholm
Oscar Davenport
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Virginia Short
Jonia Thompson
LaNita Smith
Bloomfield Club Members
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Governor Douglas H. Johnston and Family
Casket of Lillie Sacre Whiting
Donor: Juanita Johnston Smith, Oklahoma City

Run of 1893, Miller Photograph
Cherokee Strip Boomers, Prettyman Photograph
Registration Booths
Waiting for Start of the Run 1893
Run of 1893, Prettyman Photograph
By Purchase

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Barb Wire from Will Rogers Ranch
Donor: Tulsa Tribune, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Document, Homestead Certificate
Donor: Mrs. Jetta Henderson, Hollywood, California

Helmet, American worn in W.W.I.
Helmet, German W.W.I.
Pack, American Field W.W.I.
Masks (2) American Gas W.W.I.
Mask, German Gas
Bullets, American Rifle
Belt, Officers
Filter, German Gas Mask Filter
Case, Empty German Medical Case
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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

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GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

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Winter 1965-1966

THE 700 RANCH HOUSE AT ARDMORE, 1887

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Covers: The original photo of the 700 Ranch House shown on the front cover was taken not long after Ardmore was founded on the Santa Fe Railroad in 1887. The house was located in what is now southeast Ardmore. The two front rooms of the log house were erected in the 1870's, and served as the headquarters of a cattle outfit that came into the Indian Territory and carried on ranching in the fine prairie region north of Red River, in the Chickasaw Nation. These cattlemen and other ranchers before the coming of the railroad drove thousands of cattle over the Chisholm Trail to northern markets at Caldwell, Abilene and other cow-towns in Kansas. Some of the history of the 700 Ranch is given in the story "Young Ardmore," in this number of *The Chronicles.*

CAPTAIN FRANK FRANTZ, THE ROUGH RIDER GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Stephen Jones**

Frank Frantz, son of Henry Jackson Frantz and Marian Jane Gish, was born in Roanoke, Illinois, May 7, 1872, the seventh of ten children. Frank lived with his parents in Illinois until 1889 when the family settled in Wellington, Kansas. When the Cherokee Strip was opened in September, 1893, several of the Frantz brothers moved to Enid.[1] The future governor was educated in the common schools of his native town and spent two years at the Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois. Frantz went to Los Angeles, California after leaving college, and then to Prescott, Arizona where he worked for a mining company. While working in Arizona he joined Company A of the Rough Rider Regiment, which had as its commanding officers General Leonard Wood and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Bucky O'Neil was captain of Company A, and when he was killed in battle, Frantz was promoted to Captain. Frantz participated in the Spanish American war battles of Las Guasimas, San Juan Hill, and Santiago.[2] After discharge at the end of the war he returned to California for a short while, but later came back to Enid, and entered the hardware business with his brother, Mont. On April 9, 1901, Frank married Miss Matilda Evans. Mr. and Mrs. Frantz were the parents of five children: Frank Jr., Louise, James (who died in infancy), Matilda, and Virginia.

On February 10, 1902 upon the recommendation of Dennis Flynn, Frantz was appointed Enid postmaster. Later that same year he was a delegate to the Republican Territorial Convention in Enid, and as a member of the Resolutions Committee wrote most of the platform at the August convention.[3]

On December 16, 1904, Frantz was appointed by President Roosevelt to serve as Osage Agent at Pawhuska. This position was an extremely difficult one, and a number of charges of mis-

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* Stephen Jones of Enid, Oklahoma is a senior law student at the University of Oklahoma. He served as Research Director for the Republican Party of Texas in 1962; as legislative assistant for the Texas Republican legislative caucus in 1963; and as research assistant to Mr. Richard M. Nixon in New York, 1964.—Ed.

1 *Daily Oklahoman*, January 7, 1906.

2 *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, February, 1906, p. 3. *Enid Daily Eagle*, March 10, 1941.

3 Report of convention, typewritten, in Royden Dangerfield Collection, Bureau of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

FRANK FRANTZ
Governor of Oklahoma Territory, 1906-07

conduct were made against Frantz during his administration of the Agency. These charges were thoroughly investigated upon the orders of President Roosevelt and proven groundless.[4] Roosevelt was of the opinion that the charges were instigated by political enemies of Frantz in Oklahoma Territory, especially Ferguson and Flynn.[5]

On November 9, 1905, Roosevelt announced the appointment of Frantz as Governor of Oklahoma Territory.[6] The appointment of Frantz climaxed a long campaign on the part of friends of Bird McGuire, Territorial delegate in Congress, to replace his arch political enemy, Thompson Benton Ferguson as Governor. Flynn supported Ferguson as did Secretary of the Interior Hitchcock. Roosevelt, while not dissatisfied with Ferguson as governor, felt that the Watonga editor had not brought peace to the Republican party, and the old factional fight between the Flynn, Ferguson element against the Barnes, McGuire element must be ended if the Republicans were to control the government after statehood.[7] Many of Ferguson's appointments had alienated various factions, and this was also reported to be a principal reason for the failure of Roosevelt to reappoint him.[8]

Frantz remained in Washington for sometime after the news of his appointment was released for he had lunch with the President at the White House on December 2, 1905. Shortly thereafter President Roosevelt executed the commission of the Governor's appointment: "I, Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence and discretion of Frank Frantz do appoint him Governor of Oklahoma for a term of four years, from this date, January 10, 1906." The certificate was signed by the President, and the Secretary of State, Elihu Root.

Frantz was inaugurated as Governor on January 16, 1906 on the steps of the Carnegie Library in the territorial capital, Guthrie. It was estimated that 10,000 persons visited Guthrie for the most colorful inaguration of a territorial governor. From Enid a special train, one owned by the brother of the Governor, Edmund Frantz, brought a thousand or more fans of the Governor this day, all wearing ribbons labeled "From Enid, Of Course." A delegation of 500 came from Oklahoma City; 25 former Rough Riders were also in town to see the inauguration of Frantz. Bands which participated in the inaugural parade were from Edmond,

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4 Roosevelt, *Collected Letters,* Vol. 5, p. 417 *et. seq.*

5 *Ibid,* p. 415.

6 *Daily Oklahoman,* November 9, 1905.

7 For background on campaign to secure reappointment of Ferguson see his letterbooks preserved in the Bureau of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

8 *Beaver Journal,* November 16, 1905.

Perkins, El Reno, Tonkawa, Jefferson and Medford. Frantz was sworn in by Associate Justice Frank Gillette of the Supreme Court of the Territory.

During his inaugural address Frantz declared that his administration would be one of progress and that he would be governor of all the people. It was a speech in the traditions of the Roosevelt wing of the Republican Party.[9] Following the speech there was a public reception in the rooms of the library. An inaugural parade was held at one o'clock, and that evening the Convention Hall was the site of an inaugural ball. The next morning, following the inaugural dance, Frantz was in his office meeting with his two secretaries, Dr. Hugh Scott and Orville Frantz, his brother, discussing the problems of the Territory.

Oklahoma Territory, the commonwealth over which Frantz was to serve as chief executive for eighteen months was no rustic Southwestern frontier region. It literally hummed with activity, with twenty three cities over 2,500 in population. Oklahoma City's population approached 50,000 and Guthrie counted almost 30,000. Some 86,000 families owned 60,000 homes, the population of the Territory was estimated at 750,000. There were 29 daily newspapers, 293 weeklies and 1,503 organized churches. Public school enrolment was 158,322 students and 3,687 teachers. The University at Norman had six buildings around the North Oval. Normal schools for teacher training were located in Alva, Edmond, and Weatherford. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College was located at Stillwater. The percentage of illiteracy was counted among the lowest of any territory or state in the union. There were 1,165 chartered domestic corporations representing an investment in capital stock of over $827 million in the Territory. There were 73 flour mills, 10 cotton seed oil mills and the 280 grain elevators had storage capacity for 3.5 million bushels. There were 637 factories employing 3,492 wage earners with an annual payroll of over $11 million and the value increased by manufacturing was in excess of $16,000,000. There were 287 territorial banks. The value of agriculture products was in excess of $65,000,000 in 1906, and the annual budget to finance territorial government exceeded $1,000,000.

To assist him in the discharge of his official duties, Governor Frantz made a number of appointments. W. O. Cromwell of Enid, was appointed as attorney general. Charles Filson continued as Secretary of the Territory. C. W. Rambo was Territorial Treasurer and L. W. Baxter was Superintendent of Public Schools. The prominent Negro Republican, E. P. McCabe was Territorial deputy auditor. Fred L. Wenner of Guthrie was Secretary of the

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[9] For a full reprint of the speech see *Daily Oklahoman*, January 17, 1906.

MRS. FRANK FRANTZ
Wife of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory

School Land Board. Alva J. Niles was appointed Adjutant General.[10]

Frantz in his capacity as Governor was commander in chief of the territorial militia of 700 men. He was also a member of the Territorial School Land Board, the Board of Equalization, Regents for the Territorial University, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College Regents. A responsibility of great public trust was given to Governor Frantz when Congress passed the Enabling Act for statehood. Congress provided that no more sessions of the territorial legislature were to be held, which meant there was no official authority to appropriate the public money to finance necessary governmental activity. Governor Frantz was entrusted the great responsibility of appropriating public money to finance the operations of the territorial government, as he might in his discretion and judgment deem proper. He also assumed two other responsibilities besides the normal ones as governor. He was named by Congress as a member of the Commission to draw the boundary lines for the delegate districts for the constitutional convention. He had further the active role as the leader of the Republican Party in the territory.

Only the highlights of two significant incidents that occurred during the Frantz administration are considered here. The first has to do with the preservation of school lands for the future benefit of the state's common schools, and the other was the struggle for adoption of the Oklahoma Constitution.

Congress had provided in the Organic Act for Oklahoma that sections 16 and 36 of each congressional township should be set aside for financing the common schools. At each successive opening of land in the territory, it was provided that sections 13 and 33 would also be set aside, the former for higher education and the latter for public building purposes. The money from the lease of these lands was to be set aside into trust funds administered by the School Land Board (now the Commissioners of the General Land Office) to finance the common schools, higher education and public buildings. By 1906, the school lands numbered 3,100,875 acres estimated to be worth at least $30,000,000. These three million acres were leased by some 10,000 territorial residents and the income from the lease arrangements daily was close to $2,000. The sum of $500,000 had been received from the lease of these lands in 1906. This represented as much money as the territorial treasurer had collected in taxes. To supervise the administration of the lands and the distribution of these funds, the membership of the School Land Board consisted of the Governor, Secretary Filson and Auditor Baxter. The chief

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[10] A complete list of all territorial officials is found in Vol. II of *Oklahoma Redbook*, p. 154.

administrative officer for the board was its Secretary, Fred L. Wenner who had come to Guthrie in 1889.

Soon after his inauguration, Frantz was faced with a crisis in Pawnee County, where it developed that there were several choice school land quarters lying on valuable oil tracts. Observers in the area telegraphed the Board Secretary Fred Wenner that an oil company, headed by a man named Millikan, was preparing to drill on a tract of school land near Cleveland. There was already considerable production of oil in the area but this was the first time any effort had been made to drill on school lands. Wenner quickly apprised the Governor of the developments and Frantz sent for his attorney general, W. O. Cromwell. Cromwell was of the opinion that there was no clear ruling on the right of the Territory to the mineral wealth. The Territory owned the surface rights, but the ownership of the mineral rights might be doubted. Frantz told Cromwell that the action in Cleveland may have been instigated as a result of Congressional legislation--so-called "Warren Amendment"—which would eliminate the state's right to the mineral title. Working through the night Frantz, Wenner, and Cromwell drew up a proclamation couched in glittering legal phraseology on extra size legal paper with gold borders. To make the order more impressive and to give it the appearance of a valid order, the Governor caused it to be beribboned from the seal with "enough ribbons for a bridal trousseau."

Frantz told John Abernathy, United States Marshal, to swear in Ben F. Berkey, Guthrie's mayor, as a special officer. Berkey was given enough men to back up his orders and they left immediately for the Cleveland field after receiving instructions from the Governor on what they were to do. Shortly before dawn, Berkey and his men arrived only to find that Millikan was not present at the well. The order of the Governor was read and the rig under Berkey's supervision was then torn down, and all the material was thrown over the fence. A crowd soon gathered at the scene, Millikan quickly arrived, and was arrested on a charge of cutting timber on government land. He was never brought to trial and the charges were dismissed, but in this manner he was made to understand that the Governor meant to hold the mineral wealth for the common schools in the Territory.

In March, 1906, as the Oklahoma statehood bill had moved towards final passage, Senator Warren of Wyoming, at the request of a constituent of his named Walker, introduced the so-called "Warren Amendment" to the bill. The amendment provided that citizens who had already filed claims for mineral land granted to the State of Oklahoma in the statehood bill could retain these claims, and that the State could select other land

in lieu thereof. While there is no direct evidence of any attempt to "hide" the amendment, it was in due time discovered by Richard H. Lindsey, chief Washington correspondent for the *Kansas City Star*. Recognizing that such an amendment could have disastrous effects on the school lands then held in trust by the Territory, Lindsey telegraphed a report of the amendment to the *Star's* home office. The report came to the attention of the night desk editor who quickly telephoned the *Star* correspondent in Guthrie, Fred S. Barde. Barde telephoned the Governor at home and asked him what he knew about the amendment. "I never heard of that rider," Frantz replied. The Governor at once dressed and went up town to his office to meet with Barde. The two were unable to discover the exact wording of the amendment. The Governor felt that if the reports he had received were accurate then he must go to Washington, and personally head the opposition. After dispatching several telegrams, the Governor left for the nation's capital.

Once in Washington, Frantz went to the Senate Office Building for a conference with the progressive leader, Senator Albert Beveridge, chairman of the Senate Committees on Territories. The Senator told Governor Frantz that in his opinion the bill would be harmful in its effects for the school program of the new state because it would permit the location of mineral claims on any state land, and the State would be helpless to prevent the locations, whether the purpose was for oil drilling or even rock quarries. The only recourse for the State would be to select other land to hold what might not be as valuable as that taken. Thus, there was the possibility that substantial revenues for the common schools would be greatly reduced.

Working feverishly for two days, Frantz prepared a transcript of evidence and a brief and presented oral testimony before the Senate Committee on Territories. Although Frantz had the support of Senator Beveridge and Secretary Hitchcock, he nevertheless sought a conference with President Roosevelt, which was granted, and secured the support of the President. The amendment was removed from the statehood bill and the school children of the new State of Oklahoma were saved over $100,000,000.

Unfortunately, politics was at this point injected by Secretary Hitchcock. The Secretary had never been friendly towards Frantz, and had in fact supported Governor Ferguson for reappointment. On August 15, 1906, Hitchcock caused to be issued from the Interior Department a lengthy memorandum which was given to the national press. In the memorandum Hitchcock questioned the motives of Senator Warren in introducing his amendment, and painted a somewhat glowing picture of his own efforts in defeating the amendment. No mention was made of the efforts of Governor Frantz. On October 5, 1906 Senator

Warren complained in a letter to President Roosevelt the actions the Secretary had taken, and the Senator defended his own position, stating the amendment had been introduced "by request."

Roosevelt responded graciously to the Senator, but wrote a scathing letter to Hitchcock.[11] In his letter to the Secretary, the President said, "Let me repeat that from information given by you or obtained by me through Governor Frantz and others, I was against the adoption of the amendment." Roosevelt criticized Hitchcock for striking a portion of the preliminary draft of the memorandum which contained a commendatory allusion to the actions of Governor Frantz in opposing the amendment.

Governor Frantz was also responsible for one more outstanding act relating to the acquisition and preservation of land in the Panhandle for the State. Frantz was assisted in this by Fred L. Wenner, Secretary of the School Land Board.

The Enabling Act appropriated $5,000,000 for schools in lieu of non-taxable Indian lands in Indian Territory, and set aside two sections of land in each township throughout Oklahoma Territory. These lands had not been secured in full and it was decided to acquire the holdings in the Panhandle, subject to homestead entry, in lieu of all school lands not yet obtained. The Interior Department had held that it was necessary for the State to file on the land to obtain the title. Immediately Frantz raised a small army under the direction of Ben F. Berkey and Charles Carpenter of Guthrie, a two term sheriff. At that time there was a government land office in Woodward, and Frantz had his men under Berkey and Carpenter swarming over the Panhandle filing on the vacant domain in the name of the forthcoming State. When the campaign was over the land had been filed upon so thoroughly that when the homesteaders arrived later, there was nothing for them unless they became school land lessees, which many of them did.

The filing fees and other incidental expenses for the Territory in acquiring this land amounted to $14,000. The land office refused to accept any territorial warrants and insisted upon cash only.[12] Fred Wenner was in Woodward at the time and arranged with John Gerlach, a Woodward banker, to have a trunk of money in the land office each day, and from that trunk the fees were paid, with the Territory then indebted to Gerlach. Fortunately Gerlach's commendatory action was not needed for the full period of the campaign because eventually the land office agreed to take certificates of deposit rather than cash.

In 1950 Corb Sarchet, a veteran newsman and a reporter in Guthrie during Territorial days was asked by a metropolitan

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11 Roosevelt, *op cit*, p. 476.
12 *Daily Oklahoman*, February 28, 1953.

newspaper to name the ten most outstanding men of Oklahoma in terms of their accomplishments and contributions to the growth and development of the state. Among the men he named Dennis T. Flynn, William H. Murray, Will Rogers, John Fields, Frank Phillips, David Ross Boyd, W. L. Blizzard, and Governor Frank Frantz. Of the Governor, Corbett wrote, "With Fred L. Wenner . . . he on two occasions saved the future state the inviolability of the extensive school land system of Oklahoma by preserving the right of the future state to lease school lands for oil and mineral exploration." As a result of the imaginative decisive executive leadership of Frank Frantz, the Rough Rider Governor, the State of Oklahoma has realized almost $200,000,000 for the common schools in the leasing of the school lands.

"Bill passed the House 5:23, Shake" read a telegram from Bird S. McGuire to Governor Frantz, June 14, 1906. The "Bill" was the measure granting Oklahoma statehood. On June 16, 1906, President Roosevelt signed into law the Statehood Enabling Act. Among the other provisions the most immediate one for the attention of the Territorial political leaders was the provision for an election for delegates to the Constitutional Convention which was to prepare a constitution for the new state. The Enabling Act provided that there would be 56 delegates from single member districts in Oklahoma Territory, 55 delegate districts in Indian Territory and 2 delegates from the Osage Nation. The Oklahoma Territory districts were drawn by Governor Frantz, Territorial Secretary Charles Filson and J. H. Burford, Federal judge who served as chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court. The Indian Territory districts were drawn by a commission composed of federal judges W. H. Clayton and J. H. Townsend and Tams Bixby, chairman of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes. All six men were Republicans, but the act contained a provision that they were to make the districts as near equal in population as possible. For the Osage Nation, W. M. Dial was commissioned by Frantz to draw the district boundary lines, but Dial chose to let the two delegates be elected at large from the entire nation.[13]

When the results of the drawing of the districts were announced, it was alleged that certain districts were created to furnish a party leader with a ready made constituency, and that others were drawn as to minimize the chances of prominent Democrats. The vote totals indicate that the districts were fairly equal, each delegate represented about 13,000 people, and the districts were contiguous. It is true that the boundaries of the joint Clayton-Frantz proclamation of August 21, 1906, did not

[13] Ralph Scales, "A Political History of Oklahoma," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, (1949), p. 29.

follow county lines in Oklahoma or the recording districts of Indian Territory, but such a division would not have been equitable.[14]

Republicans contested all but three districts and Socialists were entered in about half of the districts. The Democrats apparently contested all districts but in a few districts they did so under names other than the Democratic Party.

Frantz personally and the Republican Party generally were handicapped in the election. For Frantz the months preceding the election were occupied first with the school land questions previously referred to and to defending his character and administration of the Osage Agency. Frantz had to miss one meeting of the Commission on boundaries in order to be in Washington to answer charges. The official exoneration of him and his administration did not come until the actual day of the election. Thus the Republican campaign was hindered by the cloud of suspicion over Governor Frantz and the split in the party. Most of the outstanding Republican leaders were prevented from seeking office because they were either federal office holders or holding Oklahoma territorial office. Instead of combining their campaign efforts the Republican campaign for delegates was directed by two campaign committees, one each for Oklahoma and Indian Territory.

The Governor, as head of the party, did campaign for the Republican ticket as time permitted. In Bartlesville he said on August 4, "I am for a Republican constitutional convention. The best men in the state, we believe, will be found in the Republican Party."[15] The Democrats secured the services of William Jennings Bryan to campaign on their behalf. Republican orator Dick T. Morgan said a Republican victory would be an endorsement of the Roosevelt administration. The general Republican position was put forward by the territory's most prominent Republican newspaper, the *Daily Oklahoma State Capital* in Guthrie. In an election-eve editorial the editor reminded the Negroes that school segregation, and "Jim Crow" laws had been passed by the Democrats in the territorial legislature. To Indians he reminded them that a Democrat had introduced a bill assigning them to the "Jim Crow" car on railroad trains. Greer, the editor, made an appeal for the new State to take its place among the progressive liberal commonwealths of the North where a value was placed upon a man regardless of his wealth or position. The voters were warned against lining up with the non-progressive states of the South where persons were disfranchised by the insertion of property clauses in the constitution.[16] Chairman Hamon, speaking for

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[14] *Ibid*, p. 24.
[15] Irvin Hurst, *46th Star*, (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1957), p. 2.
[16] *Daily Oklahoma State Capital*, November 2, 1906.

the Republicans, claimed his party would win seventy of the 112 districts. He appealed to every man in the two territories who believed in "Republican principles, in Republican prosperity, in Republican control of trusts and corporations and in common decency and good government" to vote Republican.[17]

For the Republicans, the election was a disaster. Although the results showed an overwhelming Democratic victory the Republicans could find some comfort in the fact that the results in many districts were close and that the election did not really reflect their maximum strength.[18] A change of only 5 per cent of the vote in twenty-five districts would have returned Republican delegates rather than Democratic members for the convention. It was at this point with his exoneration behind him and the question of statehood all but certain the Governor began to take full and complete control of the Republican Party. Ambitious to become the new State's first elected governor, Frantz could easily see that any Republican victory was impossible unless the party members patched up their factional disputes, reorganized the party, and took a more aggressive stand on important issues facing the new state.

The details of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention which met in Guthrie have been covered extensively elsewhere and is not discussed here,[19] except for that part of the convention in which Governor Frantz was a significant participant. The convention met in Guthrie City Hall on November 20, 1906, and remained in session except for short recesses until July, 1907. The President was William H. ("Alfalfa Bill") Murray of Tishomingo.

The proposed constitution was radical for its time, adopting most of the features promoted by the silver wing of the Democratic Party and by the Populists. At all times Frantz was in communication with the Republicans in the convention, following the proceedings closely. Although the Governor was a progressive he felt, along with President Roosevelt, and Secretary Taft that the constitution would make Oklahoma constitutionally Demo-

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17 Dora Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory,* (Oklahoma City 1933), p. 323.

18 In the two territories the results were as follows:

Oklahoma Territory		Indian Territory	
49 Democrats		48 Democrats	
6 Republicans		7 Republicans	
1 Independent			
		Democratic vote	52,066
Democratic vote	52,510	Republican vote	35,167
Republican vote	40,715	Others	9,008
Others	6,556		

19 See *46th Star,* note 15.

cratic by adroit arrangement of legislative districts and that the regulations on corporations would seriously hamper the new State's industrial development.

The Governor was effective in adding certain sections to the proposed constitution and in seeing that other proposed sections were eliminated. Frantz held one card which he could play to secure from the convention certain provisions he wanted. This card consisted of the threat that President Roosevelt would not approve the constitution, even if the voters did, and without presidential approval of the document, Oklahoma would not become a state.

An example of one such attempt by Frantz to use this threat came with the proposed "Jim Crow" law which would place in the constitution the requirement that separate coaches be maintained for white and Negro train passengers. Left alone the delegates would have voted separate school and travel facilities overwhelmingly. But Governor Frantz dropped the hint in a speech that if radical racial discrimination features were adopted the President would reject the constitution.[20] On February 27, 1907 the convention, at the urging of Charles Haskell, the separate coach proposition was rejected, 46 to 31.

As the Convention neared adjournment a series of court suits were initiated which at first placed the validity of the Constitution in doubt. The most prominent of these suits sought to make Frantz a party and to enjoin him from calling the election for a vote on the new Constitution. The most famous of these cases was initiated by C. E. Autry, Woods County commissioner, who sought to enjoin Frantz from calling the election. The basis of Autry's cause of action was that the Convention had dismembered Woods County and created several other counties from the removed portions. A temporary injunction was issued by the Woods County Probate Court on request of Autry. On May 8, 1907, W. A. Ledbetter, counsel for Murray, asked the Woods County District Court to set aside the injunction. Judge Pancoast, a member of the Supreme Court also sat, as all other justices, as a district judge, and he refused to overrule the injunction on May 13, 1907. Ledbetter, acting for Murray, appealed to the Territorial Supreme Court in Guthrie. Three other suits were also filed either directly before the Supreme Court or in district courts by other parties.

On June 25, 1907, the Territorial Supreme Court rendered its decision in an epoch making case, *Autry v Frantz, et al.* (18 Okla. 561, 1907). The opinion, written by Justice Hainer, is one of the finest reported, from Oklahoma. The Woods County district court was overruled, the permanent injunction denied, and

20 Hurst, *op cit,* p. 15.

the temporary injunction dismissed. Hainer was joined in his opinion by Justices Garber and Gillette. Justice Pancoast did not sit, and Justice Irwin dissented. Justice Burford wrote a concurring opinion and Justice Burwell dissented in part and concurred in part. The Constitution was thus sustained, in effect, four to three.

The opinions by Hainer, Irwin, Burwell and Burford are distinguished because they bring together all the relevant case law relating to the development and organization of political subdivisions i.e. a state in the union under the Constitution of the United States. Justice Hainer said that a constitutional convention could not be enjoined by a court of equity; that its powers insofar as they had been granted by the Enabling Act were plenary in scope so long as they were not repugnant to the United States Constitution and were Republican in form. The other three cases were dismissed with a short opinion, and the ruling in the Autry case was made binding upon them.

On April 19, 1907, the convention approved the constitution by a vote of 85 to 27 not voting. Murray, instead of filing the original parchment copy of the Constitution with Charles Filson, Secretary of the Territory, put it in a strongbox and carried it back to Tishomingo. Governor Frantz refused to sign an election proclamation until the original document was on file. Murray offered the Governor one of six typed copies, but Frantz refused to take it. Subsequently Murray gave in and sent the original draft of the Constitution to Filson.

Rumors continued to circulate that the President was not pleased with the Oklahoma Constitution. A delegation composed of Ledbetter, and delegates Moore and Hayes returned from a trip to see the President and reported that the Attorney General insisted certain changes would have to be made. Frantz had kept Roosevelt informed as to the proceedings and Roosevelt had passed his observations on to the Attorney General. On July 10, 1907 a meeting of the Democratic caucus made 43 changes in the constitution. Major changes were made in the initiative and referendum section; powers of the Legislature to discriminate against foreign corporations were modified to permit the Legislature to "impose conditions for licensing" of foreign corporations; and women were permitted to hold the office of county school superintendent. For the Republicans perhaps the most important changes were in the creation of additional legislative districts in the Northern portion of the state which would elect Republicans. To Governor Frantz must go much of the credit for forcing the convention to make the modifications which the President insisted upon.

Even before the delegates had finally approved the Constitution, one of them, Charles Haskell, had been nominated in

a primary for Governor. Attention was then focused on Tulsa where on August 1, 1907, the Republicans would nominate their candidate to oppose the Democratic choice.

Six days before the convention, on July 24, Frantz and Judge Clayton issued the proclamation ordering a referendum on the Constitution for September 17, 1907, the 120th anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution. The voters would also elect state officials on that day.

Governor Frantz announced his candidacy for Governor on April 3, 1907.[21] He was opposed for the nomination by Jake Hamon of Ardmore who based his campaign on the unpopularity of territorial government, arguing that the federally imposed regime which Frantz represented was certain to be an issue in the fall election. Dr. S. Dezell Hawley was supported for the nomination by many Republicans in Indian Territory, but by the eve of the Tulsa convention, both men had withdrawn.

Frantz was not oblivious to the fact that the Republican Party was torn with internal dissension, and since they were already a minority in the new state they could only hope to win if they were themselves united. Following his announcement in April until the August convention the Governor worked adroitly to soothe bitter feelings in the party. Peace talks were held with Dennis Flynn and the old leader, respected by many in the party, agreed to campaign for Frantz. Former Governor Ferguson was placated with a congressional nomination in a district the Republicans felt they could win in the general election. Hamon as a symbol of the McGuire faction was eased out of his position as state chairman. Thus the party entered the campaign with a united front, at least temporarily. For the position of state chairman Frantz felt he needed someone who would loyally support him as the nominee for governor. Frantz's candidate was Charles Hunter, whose election was insured when an arrangement was made with A. E. Perry of Coalgate that in return for his withdrawing from the race for chairman, all patronage in Indian Territory would be cleared through him.[22]

Said the *Daily Oklahoman* on August 3, 1907:

> With the election of Hunter the absolute control of the Republican Party has passed into the hands of Frank Frantz. The results mean not only the complete unhorsing of J. L. Hamon, the former state chairman, but it means the relegation to the rear of Cash Cade, Bird McGuire, Dennis Flynn, and every other member of any faction that have hitheto dominated the organization and distribution of federal patronage in Oklahoma.

B. M. Carpenter placed in nomination for Governor the name of Frank Frantz. Convention chairman Murphy put through

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21 *Blackwell Times Record,* April 4, 1907.
22 *Daily Oklahoman,* August 1, 1907.

a motion to suspend the rules and nominate Frantz by acclamation. "Pandemonium reigned, the delegations cheered themselves hoarse. The Guthrie band struck up the 'Cuban Independence March', a proper reminder of the winning of the first laurels by the brilliant Rough Rider. The whole convention rose to its feet. For more than five minutes the convention was a wild, cheering, enthusiastic mass of men."[23]

A loud call was made for the "man that's going to lick Haskell" and the young governor came forward and again spontaneous cheering began. One observer reported that standing before the convention Frantz made a striking picture with his powerful physique, handsome face and graceful figure.

The Governor accepted the nomination saying to the Convention:[24]

> This is the proudest moment of my life. Next to being Governor of Oklahoma Territory there is but one position which I would prefer and that is to be governor of the state of Oklahoma . . . By your actions today you have sounded a warning to the 'little boss' whom the Republicans shall banish to a political island of St. Helena where he will pace his measured beat listening to the mourning waves signing a requiem to the dead hopes of Muskogee's gifted son.

After the nomination of Frantz a full slate of candidates was selected for the statewide offices. One-third of the nominees were residents of Indian Territory. The action to name a full slate of candidates was opposed by Cade and McGuire, but the convention supported the full slate by a vote of 1,311 to 249. A motion was offered to urge voters to reject the Constitution and it passed 1,348½ to 227½.

The platform was a searing indictment of the Constitution proposed by the Democratically dominated constitutional convention. The convention of Republicans said the document was an[25]

> . . . instrument which denies to each citizen equal rights under the law with every other citizen; deprives the minority of their just proportion of representation; unfairly discriminates in favor of one locality against another; increases the burden of taxation without compensating benefits; discourages industrial and commercial development lessens the demand for labor and decreases wages; antagonizes capital and depreciates investments; repudiates public obligations and destroys public credit, and has already brought a blight upon the fair name of the proposed state.

The Republican platform praised Roosevelt and the Republican Congress. It pledged that should the Constitution be adopted the party would support all moves to remove the objectionable features; it declared the Republican Party is the

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[23] Oscar Fowler, *Haskell Regime,* (Oklahoma City, 1933), p. 118.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Oklahoma Red Book,* Tulsa, 1912, II, p. 359.

"anti-trust party." The platform also supported federal aid for road construction, laws to prevent waste in the oil and gas industry, federal aid for development of water ways, a one year extension of payments for settlers in the Big Pasture, immediate settlement of all Indian claims, and "with no reckless hostility to corporate interests or investments we favor the enactment and enforcement of such legislation as will compel all railway, express and transportation companies doing business within the state of Oklahoma to carry . . . at such reasonable rates as will be just to the shipper and at the same time provide a fair return upon the actual investment and capital of such company." This portion of the platform was inserted as a result of the freight rate investigation which had been conducted for Governor Frantz at his request by Enid attorney Charles West, a Democrat. As a result of the investigation it was discovered that producers and consumers of shipped products in the two territories had for years been compelled to pay unreasonable transportation charges.[26]

The platform also endorsed McGuire and Ferguson, but the greatest tribute was reserved for the Governor:[27]

> We approve the highly intelligent and competent administration of territorial affairs by Governor Frank Frantz. In his just and equitable handling of school land problems, his successful efforts to bring about cheaper transportation rates for both producer and consumer in Oklahoma, his safe and economic management of the fiscal affairs of Oklahoma, his impartial and judicious enforcement of the laws, he has earned and commands the respect and entire confidence of the people. His official experience, his knowledge of the conditions and requirements of the coming state, his ability to deal fairly with men of all races and classes, his integrity and character and stubborn determination to give to every person and interest a square deal, peculiarly equip and qualify him for the first governor of the State of Oklahoma.

For all the enthuasism the Republican convention generated, its work was not applauded everywhere. The *Kansas City Star* deplored the convention and the strategy of rejecting the constitution while proposing a slate of officers for a state that could not come into existence unless the constitution were approved.[28]

Haskell opened his campaign in McAlester, August 12th and the race was on. Secretary Taft had written Frantz on May 4 that he would be able to make only one speech on behalf of the Republican ticket and it was decided that the future President would appear in Oklahoma City on August 24. In his speech Taft criticized the constitution and urged the election of Frantz. William Jennings Bryan came into the state to defend the Constitution on September 5, 1907, and he was followed on September 9 by Champ Clark of Missouri, a future Democratic Speaker of the House of Representatives.

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26 *Purcell Register,* August 9, 1906.
27 *Oklahoma Red Book, op cit* p. 361.
28 *Kansas City Star,* June 20, 1907.

Frantz had opened his campaign for election even before he had formally been nominated. His first speech came at Ada on July 20, 1907, where he struck out at the secret caucus session the Democrats had before the adoption of the Constitution. He also asserted the Republican Party was the original statehood party and that the Democrats had always been the obstructionists.

Charges and counter charges flew between the two opposing camps. The Governor was charged with undue leniency towards corporations, Haskell producing figures to prove that the governor had supposedly listed the Choctaw Railroad at a valuation only one-fifth what the Arkansas Governor had used. The 1907 census was attacked. Republican newspapers said the President would reject the Constitution. Years of frustration of real or imagined problems existing under territorial government were all aimed at Frantz and he took the brunt of them. One historian has written, "Whatever the delegate in Congress or the national administration did to foster statehood, the most conspicious symbols of Republican power in Oklahoma were associated with the move to obstruct statehood. It was a costly policy for it opposed the fundamental longings of the people for equal status in the union."[29]

Frantz in his speeches attacked gerrymandered legislative and judicial districts, interference with the prerogative of the courts and the county boundaries. Most of the counties were too small for economical administration he argued.

Republicans brought former Ohio Attorney General J. M. Sheets into the campaign to speak in the closing weeks. Sheets attacked Haskell as an Ohio railroad promoter whose tactics as a lawyer were highly questionable and that law suits hung over his head if he returned to Ohio. Republicans attempted to court the "Chickasaw Bourbon" faction of the Democratic Party whose candidate, Lee Cruce, had been defeated by Haskell in the primary. When the Democrats brought Bryan to speak at Vinita, Claremore, Tulsa, Sapulpa, Bristow, Chandler and Oklahoma City, Sheets endeavored to prove that Haskell, in Ohio, had not been a Bryan supporter, nor even a Democrat until he started to practice law in a strongly Democratic county.[30]

Haskell and the Democrats replied in kind. A week before the election the Democratic nominee delivered a speech in Shawnee which was reported by the *Shawnee Daily Herald,* September 3, 1907 at "In terms specific, Charles Haskell charged his Republican opponent, Frank Frantz, with drunkenness, with breaking the laws of God and country, disregarding the ties between husband and wife, with entering into an agreement with oil

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[29] Scales, *op cit* p. 12.
[30] *Ibid,* p. 66.

operators whereby he received stock in a company in return for special privileges granted them." These charges were relative to Frantz's conduct as Osage Agent, for which he had been exonerated.

Democrats raised the Negro issue in the Southern counties in order to stop the defecting Bourbons in the Red River country. Frantz, Haskell charged, had appointed a Negro to office. In a South McAlester speech of August 12, Haskell singled out a deputy auditor in the executive offices "where Frantz's fair white girl stenographer is pinked with blush of shame by being compelled to earn her bread by official association with a Negro superior."[31]

The election day came and the early returns were indefinite, but as the night wore on Haskell began to run strongly ahead of Frantz in the rural areas while the cities returned nominal to heavy Republican majorities even as the Constitution carried every county. By the following morning, it became clear the only real hope Frantz ever had of winning was the defection of the Bourbon Democrats headed by Cruce and Furman. Of the thirty four counties carried by Cruce against Haskell, Frantz carried only eight, although the results were close in a number of others. The only real satisfaction for Frantz was in the fact that he carried the home county of Haskell, Muskogee, with 51.6% of the vote and he ran ahead of all the other Republicans. Frantz carried Enid and Garfield County (57.4%), Logan County (62.8%) and Oklahoma County (52.3%). Other counties carried by the Republican candidate were Alfalfa (53.8%), Blaine (51.3%), Creek (52.7%), Ellis (48.1%), Harper (47.2%), Kingfisher (55.2%), Lincoln (49.3%), Major (50.5%), Noble (49.5%), Okmulgee (51.2%), Sequoyah (49.7%), Wagoner (57.5%), Washington (49.8%), Woods (49.7%), and Woodward (47.5%). Haskell defeated Frantz 137,528 (53.4%) to 110,164 (42.7%) with 9,836 (3.8%) for the Socialist candidate. The Constitution carried in every county, although it lost in the City of Guthrie, and carried statewide by a margin of five to two.

In the face of overwhelming obstacles the Governor ran a good race. That many thousands of voters who supported the Constitution voted for Frantz is obvious, and had the Republicans endorsed the Constitution they might have won the election. Former Governor Murray, the president of the Convention, believed so for he wrote years later in his memoirs: "I have always believed that the Republicans would have won the election if they had not followed Roosevelt's advice and followed common sense by supporting the constitution."[32] The personal attacks upon the

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31 *Daily Oklahoman,* August 6, 1907.

32 William H. Murray, *Memoirs of Governor Murray and True History of Oklahoma II,* pp. 62-63.

Governor, the frustrations against territorial officials, the Negro question, the united Democratic Party, support of the constitution, the desire for immediate statehood, all took their toll and Frantz was defeated.

In retrospect, Frantz was certainly justified in much of his private misgivings of the Constitution. Had he not taken the opportunity at the time to bring pressure upon the convention then many of the most objectionable features would have been retained. History of Oklahoma as a state has shown that many portions of the constitution are questionable in their effectiveness as witnessed by the large number of amendments, over fifty, that have been added in less than sixty years. His complete domination of the Republican Party by Frantz did remove the old factional divisions between so called "working Republicans" and "Arkansas Republicans." The Republicans made dramatic gains in the 1908 election, almost carrying the state for Taft.

Edwin McReynolds, an Oklahoma historian, has called Frantz "an able and popular executive."[33] Mention has already been made of the Governor's selection as one of the ten outstanding men of Oklahoma history. As a politician Frank Frantz was inept, but as a governor he was one of Oklahoma Territory's ablest. Through his action the State has retained title to the vast public lands which have financed the common schools of Oklahoma. Three times the future state was in danger of losing these valuable lands, and three times Governor Frantz saved them for posterity. Governor Frantz was an implacable enemy of those men and those movements which threatened to install corruption. Neither by threats or flattery or bribery would he permit his opinions or actions to be swayed. Frank Frantz scorned the cheap and demagogic tricks so frequently employed in the political field. History has not proven President Roosevelt mistaken in reposing "special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence and discretion" of the Enid Rough Rider.

Governor Frantz left office on November17, 1907, and spent the rest of his life in the oil business. In early 1941, he entered the Veteran's Hospital in Muskogee where he died early in the morning of March 8, 1941, three months short of the forty-fourth anniversary of the Battle of San Juan Hill.

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[33] Edwin McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, (Norman, 1954), p. 315.

YOUNG ARDMORE

By Julia K. Sparger

When one comes toward Ardmore from the North today, he drives through rock formations of the Arbuckles laid down perhaps thirteen hundred million years ago. Then he sees a great prairie spreading out to the east, south, and west. In July, 1834, the Dragoon Regiment under General Leavenworth, with Lieut. Jefferson Davis as a member of his staff, crossed this prairie as they marched from the mouth of the Washita River to the Wichita Mountains. This prairie, extending from the Washita on the east as far as the town of Ryan to the west, was the location of several ranches after the Civil War, but settlers had been in the area for at least two decades before that time.

In 1841 Robert Love had a ranch at Oil Springs. In 1845 James M. Gaines, for whose family Gainesville, Texas, was named, settled at Burneyville in Love County. In the early 1850's Adam Jimmy, a Chickasaw, built a house near what is now Overbrook. The region between Caddo and Hickory Creeks was known as the "Adam Jimmy Prairie." Travelers from Fort Arbuckle to the crossing of Red River near the mouth of Hickory Creek stopped overnight at his house. The road ran from Fort Arbuckle through Pooleville, Lone Grove, Overbrook, and Thackerville to Gainesville, the supply point for this part of Indian Territory. During the Civil War William Higgins built a log house on the Spring Branch of Hickory Creek.

When the Chickasaws came to Indian Territory in 1838, most of them settled east of Blue River, and Fort Washita was built in 1842 for their protection against warring Plains tribes. Less than sixty miles northwest of this fort, the army built Fort Arbuckle in 1852.

In 1855, a treaty with the United States and the Chickasaws and the Choctaws established the Chickasaw Nation which soon

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* Mrs. Julia K. Sparger is a teacher of English in Northwestern State College at Alva, Oklahoma. She was a teacher of English for many years in the High School at Ardmore where she led (1956) the program in the study and preservation of local history, among senior high school students. Mrs. Sparger had graduated from Marietta High School, and attended the University of Oklahoma, graduating with a B.A. degree and, later, with a M.A. degree in English. She came as a bride to Ardmore, and learned about the Red River country and its people accompanying her husband on drives in his business through Southern Oklahoma. Her story on early days in Ardmore is the outgrowth of a brief paper on the subject, which she read at the luncheon program at Lake Murray Lodge, during the Oklahoma Historical Tour in 1962.—Ed.

organized under a constitution with its capital at Tishomingo. The site of Ardmore was in Pickens County, the largest of four Chickasaw counties, and named for Edmund Pickens of Lebanon (now in Marshall County). He was one of the two Chickasaw commissioners who signed the treaty. The boundaries of Pickens County were the Washita River, the Red River, and the 98th Meridian; its county seat was Oakland in what is now Marshall County.

In the period from 1865 to 1900 there were two ways, legally, by which a white man could settle in this beautiful prairie. He could marry a Chickasaw Indian girl and become an intermarried citizen, or he could lease land from Chickasaw citizens for a small fee. In 1876, the fee was $5.00 plus 25c per head for cattle. The only restriction on what land to claim was that no one could locate nearer than a quarter of a mile from the holdings or improvements of another. The members of the Chickasaw Nation under the law were only owners of the improvements on any tract—buildings, fences and cultivation privileges. This common ownership of the land was in accordance with their old tribal laws and the United States treaties. Later there were many legal tangles in the county when the U. S. courts and laws were extended over the Indian Territory.

In the early 1880's among the famous ranches were the IS of the Washington family, four miles northwest of Ardmore; the *HOXbar,* the Three I's *(III)*, the *Cross T* and the *O-Cross-O* of Bill Washington and Richard McLish, a Chickasaw, who built a wire drift fence from Berwyn (now Gene Autry) to Lone Grove and on to Ryan near the 98th Meridian at Red River, a distance of about sixty miles, so that their herds would not stray into *IS* territory. These ranches were in existence until Indian allotments were made in (1902-1907).

In 1880 Alva Roff, who had been living in the Hickory Creek region, purchased stock, cattle, fourteen ponies and one colt from E. N. Steven of Cook County, Texas, for $9,500 to stock his *700 Ranch,* which was at the branch of the West Fork of Anadarche Creek. The *700 Ranch* house, (the first on the site of Ardmore) was occupied from time to time as crews of cowboys moved in and out handling herds of cattle. Mr. Roff was an intermarried citizen, his wife, a Chickasaw, Matilda Bourland. By 1885, a third room had been added to this ranch house.

In 1881 John B. Criner, grandson of Ben Love, a Chickasaw, established a ranch in the Criner Hills area. This was still "wild" country. A traveler on the stage coach riding from Ardmore to Healdton in 1887 mentioned seeing the prairie buffalo bones, and herds of wild horses and deer. Before the Santa Fe railroad came through, cattle were driven east to Atoka or

Caddo where they could be shipped on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, or they were driven up the Chisholm Trail in Western Pickens County.

On July 4, 1886, Congress passed an act which provided that the Gulf Coast, Colorado and Santa Fe could construct a railroad, a telegraph and telephone line through Indian Territory from the Red River to a point on the southern boundary of Kansas. The right-of-way was 100 feet wide, with a station every ten miles at which places there were to be railroad yards 200 feet wide and 3,000 feet long. Compensation of $25 was paid to each individual for right-of-way through a quarter section of improved property.

In August of 1887, Dan Fitch sold "the Ardmore station" to Richard McLish for $1200, and sold his rights to the *700 Ranch* to him for $600. Mrs. Rosa McLish, Richard's wife, was a sister of Bill Washington.

George B. Douglas, a Fort Worth contractor who was working at the capital, Tishomingo, came to the "Adam Jimmy Prairie" and built a house, a stockade, and shed, and dug a well where Ardmore's B Street Southwest and Sixth Avenue now intersect in Ardmore. He had decided that this was about the right distance from Gainesville for a town. Surveying crews, which reached the spot during the first week of May, 1886, stayed with the Douglases and drove the stake for a station-site a half mile north of his house. So, Ardmore was located on a map. Its name was one of a series, beginning with Overbrook and extending north to Wayne, after stations west of Philadelphia on the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The first train arrived from Gainesville on July 28, 1887. Before the tracks had been completed, two stores were in operation. Bob and Frank Frensley had brought supplies by wagon from Sherman and Gainesville, Texas. They had sugar, coffee, tobacco, flour, a bolt of calico and some handkerchiefs in their store west of the tracks. The first train brought a carload of lumber for them, and they at once put up a wooden building, eighty by one hundred feet. They leased the land from Richard McLish for $5.00 a year. On their capital of $2,000 they paid the Chickasaw Nation 1% per year for their permit to operate.

The other store, in a tent east of the tracks, was owned by Samuel Zuckerman, who had a capital of $5,000 and so paid $50.00 per year to the Nation. He leased his lot from Adam Roff for $5.00 per year. By the 1890's there were so many white men in Ardmore that they outnumbered the Chickasaws and enforcement of land and permit laws became increasingly difficult.

Among the many stores which were established in the first few years was the "Iron Store" of Max Munzesheimer and Sam

DAUBE'S STORE AT ARDMORE, 1889
Daube's Department Store built on the main street of Ardmore in 1889, the oldest establishment of its kind in Southern Oklahoma. Sam Daube had opened his first store at Bowie, Texas, in 1883.

Daube. While most of the other stores were in tents or were constructed of cottonwood boards which soon buckled and split, this store was of sheet iron plates. In 1889 Max Westheimer came to Ardmore to work in the store. By 1894 the store was employing forty clerks. In 1901 these men and Dave Daube, who had bought out Frank Wymore's interest in the "Blue Front," merged their interests and the great mercantile business of Westheimer and Daube was established. Like that of several other merchants, what had started as a mercantile operation expanded to include ranching, cotton buying, and later the oil business. All the stores in town offered credit. Riders were sent out from competing stores to meet farmers as they came in to buy supplies or sell cotton.

Although ranching was important throughout the 1890's, cotton farming on land leased from some Chickasaw increased each year. In 1884, 800 bales of cotton were sold. By 1895 over 45,000 bales were sold at five cents or more a pound. Over a million dollars came into the area annually from cotton. In addition to the merchants and the local cotton buyers, there were thirteen representatives of foreign firms, all wearing straw hats and dusters as they took their samples of cotton from the wagons. Cotton could be shipped by Santa Fe to Galveston and from there to Liverpool for $1.05 per hundred pounds, while the cost by rail to New York was only five cents less. In the fall, bales of cotton were stacked the length of Main street on both sides, and cotton wagons in a solid line sometimes three miles long waited their turn at the gins. By the mid-nineties the two compresses could process a 1,000 bales a day.

Another resource of the area was the development of various minerals. Coal mining was begun south of Ardmore in 1890 by Samuel Zuckerman, Max Munzesheimer, and B. C. Burney. Later Max Westheimer and Sam Daube were added to the partnership. About 1895 the first paving with asphalt from mines near Overbrook began. The operators paid the Chickasaw Nation $500 a year for their lease and 10c for each ton sold. The asphalt was one of the stimuli later for a search for oil in Carter County.

From early times people had come to this area to drink from oil springs. Among those which can be located is one in Marshall County that may be the one referred to in a Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1848: " . . . among which (mineral deposits) may be found the 'oil spring.' A number of persons from Texas, besides Indians of various tribes, have visited this spring this summer and find it very beneficial. Some, who were very much afflicted with the rheumatism, were cured almost immediately."

The two "Oil Springs" which are more famous in the western part of the Chickasaw Nation were both owned at various times by the same man, Thomas Boyd. An advertisement in the *Dallas Herald* for Wednesday, September 15, 1858, read

> Oil Springs Hotel, change of owners
> Robert Love Thomas C. S. Boyd
> having bought out
> Robert Wilson
> at the Oil Springs[1]
>
> We intend to keep a well furnished House, for the purpose of accommodating all that give us a call. The table will be furnished with the best the country can afford for the sick and well, and every effort will be made to please all. Campers can be furnished any kind of meats that they may want. All kinds of Stock for sale at the Oil Bazaar. Plenty of Forage will be kept on hand.
>
> Love & Boyd, Oil Springs, Pickens Co. N.C.Y.

This same Thomas Caldwell Stuart Boyd afterward purchased from Winchester Colbert property seven miles east of Berwyn on which was a big oil spring. Until after World War I Ardmoreites drove the twenty miles northeast to Boyd's Oil Spring, now on the Goddard ranch, to camp, swim, drink the spring water, and visit. Circuses on their way south, peddlers, pitch men, all who took the road east of the Arbuckles near what is now Highway 18 to pass from Central Oklahoma to the Ardmore region, stopped at the spring.

One of the earliest settlers in this area is Mrs. B. C. Forbes, who came to Ardmore on December 5, 1887. Her family built three log cabins with porches between them. Since her father had a turkey call, they had lots of turkeys. In a nearby slough she could see deer coming to drink in the morning. Once, on a fishing trip, the children were followed by a panther. When they put the scraps down at night near the cabin, wolves would come up. They found wolf tracks at the spring in the mornings. She remembers that there were "quite a few" Indians who sat around on the streets. They were not at all like the Plains Indians. Gypsies came through selling horses, but many people used ox teams.

Mrs. Callie Thomason Layman came on February 12, 1896. She remembers that wild horses came to their horse lot and her father discharged his gun to scare them away. Their family came from Texas where her father had been a druggist. He had heard

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[1] The description of the location of Thomas Boyd's property is "West side of House Creek near its mouth along north bank of Red River in Pickens County, Chickasaw District, Choctaw Nation upon Sections 16, 15 and 21, Range 4 Township 7 East and South by Arbuckle".—The ad and this description were furnished by Mr. Boyd's granddaughter, Mrs. Charles (Marie King) Garland.

of the fertility of the land north of Red River so he leased part of the Walcott farm to plant wheat. Eventually the Thomasons moved further east, into town. When her sixteen-year old sister died, the Negro mammy of the Mose Cooper family came over and put her on a "cooling board" (the ironing board padded and fixed pretty), put nickels on her eyelids, and helped dress her. When it was time for the funeral, the coffin was brought into the house, and after there were songs and prayers, she was put into it.

Some of the Thomason family had been in the area earlier. Her mother's uncle came in the very early days to a spot west of the Arbuckles where he and his companion were captured by Indians. They were tied to a tree stump for several days, but the Indians fed them and gave them water. One day when the men of the camp went hunting, a woman gave them a bucket and sent them to the spring for water. There they found their horses tied. The men escaped and went back home to Collinsville, Texas.

As does everyone who lived in Ardmore in the early days, Mrs. Layman had much to say about picnics. These lasted two or three days. There was an annual picnic on Ardmore's birthday, July 28, and often there were others. Usually barbecue, pickles, and bread were donated by the merchants. Platforms were built for square dancing. Most of the music was supplied by fiddles although at some dances Les McKinney played an organ. Cotton candy and pink lemonade were for sale. The men wore high starched collars, close-fitting coats, and boots. However, the business men of the town wore shoes. The girls had "toothpick-toed" shoes and long skirts. Even little girls' skirts came far below the knees.

Another memory of the the very early days is the story of Baptist baptizings at the Santa Fe railroad tank on Sunday afternoons. The Gassaways, who lived near, let people come into their house to change their clothes.

Mrs. May Coleman was four years old when her family came in 1887. She remembers that they stayed at the John O'Mealey hotel, which had no beds in it. They settled in the Caddo bottom where everyone had a square mile for a farm and paid $5.00 a year rent. Hogs ran wild. Her papa put up a fence and caught some hogs, but they bit the fence. When Mrs. Coleman rode into town, the grass was so high that the horse could eat without dropping its head much. She thinks that there were lots of people on farms compared with the number of people in Ardmore. On their farm her father paid a hired man 50c a day, but it was customary to give colored people dinner and a piece of meat as their pay.

Mrs. Dave Fraser was Ardmore's first May queen at Mrs. Lina Robinson's private school. She came to Ardmore at the age of ten, in 1890. She particularly remembers that since there was no law about keeping cattle and hogs off the Ardmore streets, hogs would get under the church. The result was that fleas were so bad in church that people could scarcely sit still.

The issues of the *Ardmoreite* in its first six weeks of publication in the fall of 1893 give a picture of sophistication blended with discomfort in living arrangements. There were no paved streets, and the dust blew much of the time. The editor comforted his readers by editorializing that the dust was worse in Perry and Guthrie. In the summer and fall there were so many cotton wagons that frequently the traffic jam on Main Street lasted all afternoon. Recently a cotton seed oil mill built at a cost of $70,000, gins, an ice factory, a cotton compress, and a flooring mill had been added to the town's industries. When it rained the streets became so slick that the editor fell full-length in the mud and so urged that a sewer should be constructed to drain the mud puddle "which is a terror alike to the dude's hat and the ladies' dresses." He listed many other things which Ardmore needed: some plan to enforce hitching carefully so that there would not be so many runaways; a regulation on how much of the sidewalk lemonade and peanut salesmen could take up; a way to clean up the waste paper, barrel staves, and loose cotton and other debris on Main Street. Strolling salesmen should be forced to buy licenses since they were competing with established merchants. The idea of an artesian well to be used to fight fires should be explored. People complained of dead animals left near their residences, but there was no one with any authority to haul them away.

There was a great deal of travel on the Santa Fe to Gainesville, or Davis, or Pauls Valley for the day, or to Fort Worth on the frequent excursions when the round-trip ticket sold for a dollar. Almost every day some family moved into town. David Redfield came from Cisco, Texas, to be a partner of J. A. Mays in the insurance business. The Presbyterian minister brought his bride from Corinth, Mississippi. Mr. Williams of Fort Worth was in town to see about organizing a company for lights and water. Mrs. Clarence B. Douglas and her two children arrived from Aberdeen, Washington, to join her architect husband. Dr. I. W. Folsom (a Choctaw family) came to be a partner of Dr. McCoy in the practice of medicine; and Dr. H. Roberts from Butte, Montana, opened an office. William McNeil and his family of Hopkins County, Texas, came. Major A. V. Doak and Mike Sneed, traveling men, headquartered in Ardmore. J. J. Stolfa opened a tailor shop over J. F. Robinson's store.

On November 15, 1893, there was a tragic accident. A man who was bringing a load of cotton from Daugherty had his wife and adopted daughter ride the train to Ardmore. When the brakeman called "Ardmore" and the train did not stop, Mrs. Harvill and the little girl jumped off the train, and Mrs. Harvill was killed. *The Ardmoreite* editor urged the Santa Fe to keep doors on coaches locked until trains were in the stations since people did not know what to expect on a train. He cited an incident in Purcell three weeks before in which a boy jumped after the brakeman had called the station. The boy's legs were cut off and he died within a few hours.

Although the famous Robinson Opera House had not yet been built, there was a succession of entertainments of various types. On November 3, Gainesville was advertising acrobats, fifty trotting and pacing horses, and bicycle races. On the 14th, Mr. S. A. Kendig came from Gainesville to present the play, "The Peak Sisters," for the benefit of the Presbyterian church. A Negro, "Sin Killer" Griffin, was holding a meeting in town. There was a blind man with a hand organ on the streets that week. Mr. Kagle, a noted horse trader, arrived with a carload of horses for sale. The next week the Jennie Holman Company had a change of bill nightly. Seats sold for fifty cents for performances of "The Inside Track," "Daughter of the Regiment," "The Buckeye," "Whose Wife Was She?", and "Cousin Joe." In response to a petition bearing the names of two hundred Ardmoreites, the last night the company presented "East Lynn." In the same month the Kit Carson show was in Ardmore because they had a breakdown in the Arbuckle Mountains. The editor said, "They are a nice looking set of young men. They are now on the showgrounds and may possibly stay over tomorrow."

The next day, during the parade of the Cross Brothers Band in the afternoon, a number of teams ran away, endangering the lives of many pedestrians who were blocking the street. Tranby, a twenty-three year old horse belonging to Mr. E. E. Graves, was buried with services conducted by the Christian minister, the Reverend Claypool, and a large number of people attended because of the novelty. In a turkey shoot, R. G. Bigger won with a score of 27 out of a possible 30. On the 28th, the Dewey Heywood concert company appeared at the opera house, and there were ads in the paper announcing that on December 7 Patti Rosa, aided by John D. Gilbert and Joe Cawthorn would play "Dolly Varden."

The Algonquin Club arranged dances to which, according to Mr. Ernest Williams, the girls wore evening dresses with trains and the young men wore white ties and tails. The Elks' Hall was another center of activity. Music for dancing was usually

DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF POST-OFFICES:
DUNCAN, 1884; VELMA, 1886; ADDINGTON, 1886; RYAN, 1890; THACKERVILLE, 1882; MARIETTA, 1887; OVERBROOK, 1887; ARDMORE, 1887; DAUGHERTY, 1887; LONE GROVE, 1885; HEALDTON, 1883; WOODFORD, 1884; HENNEPIN, 1885; FT. ARBUCKLE, 1853; LEON, 1882; BURNEYVILLE, 1879; COURTNEY, 1883; LEBANON, 1878; OAKLAND, 1881; WOODVILLE, 1881; WILLIS, 1886; FT. WASHITA, 1844; TISHOMINGO, 1857; PONTOTOC, 1850.

PREPARED BY JULIA K. SPARGER

played by the Lowenstein brothers. Since the only public conveyance was a "side-setter," several couples could go to a dance without a chaperone. When a young man wanted to make a date, he sent a note by a messenger who waited for a reply.

While the fertile prairie was producing grass for pasture and land for cotton, Ardmore profited from another activity: the federal courts. The older towns of Healdton and Lone Grove had been handicapped by not being on the railroad, but the decisive spur to make Ardmore the leading town was establishment of the Federal Court in 1890. This due largely to the efforts of the attorneys W. B. Johnson and W. A. Ledbetter. They agitated to have court somewhere in the western part of the Chickasaw Nation. Previously all trials had been held at Muskogee, or at Paris, Texas. Officers lived in those towns and had to be summoned to this area when a crime was committed. In the October 7, 1890, term of court there were over two hundred cases tried. They involved larceny, assault and battery, malicious mischief, arson, rape, theft, and murder. Most of the people in the Chickasaw Nation came to the April or October terms of court, or both. They visited, sold cotton and cattle and purchased staples.

In the early days of Ardmore there was a wooden stockade for prisoners, and guards continually marched around the walk to guard against escapes. Mike Gorman was the jailer from 1895-1897. The wooden stockade had been replaced in 1898 by a stone walled jail with quarters for a men's prison, a women's prison, a men's hospital, quarters for the jailer, and quarters for "trustees." Negroes had separate quarters. Discipline was maintained by sentencing obstreperous prisoners to the stone dungeon and a diet of bread and water for two days. There were usually a hundred or more prisoners in the Ardmore jail. At the end of the court term in November, 1893, thirty-two men who had completed their prison sentences were released. When prisoners were to be sent to the federal prisons, they were kept in a steel prison car on the railroad track. Alcoholics and mentally ill people were sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Men whose sentences ran more than ten years were sent to the Ohio State Penitentiary.

By June, 1894, the postmaster's salary had been raised from $1600 to $1700 per annum. Out of this amount he had to pay any clerks that he might need. There were letters to the newspaper editor urging that the streets be sprinkled, and Lee Galt offered to do the job for $150 a month for three months. Mrs. F. G. Barry was enrolling students: "Only small boys will be admitted and girls of all ages." Schooling included advance mathematics, music and ancient and modern languages and the usual ordinary courses. The writer of the Lebanon news column

stated that Marietta had offered to build an iron bridge over Hickory Creek to encourage trade, and asked what Ardmore would offer. A news story about the activities of Douglas and Douglas, architects, listed the M. H. Pennington house, $2,500; Russell Williams, $2,000; a two story building for the Odd Fellows, $3,500; the signed contract for a $3,000 building for the Knights of Pythias; a building on West Main for $8,000; the C. L. Anderson house for $1,000; and residences to be built for Major C. C. Demming of Gainesville, and for T. J. Cornelius.

The big story for June, 1894, however, was the shooting of Bill Dalton. Mrs. Dalton with her two children came to claim the body and take it to California for burial. *The Ardmoreite* wrote concerning her brother-in-law, who had come to assist her: "While here Charles Dalton created a most favorable impression in the minds of officers and citizens generally, by his gentlemanly deportment and his resignation to the situation." The following week the Dalton hideout was located in a cave in the Arbuckle Mountains near the Washita River by James Alverson of Woodford. The Woodford people invited the people of Ardmore to join their posse. They went ahead with fifteen men but did not find the gang. On the 20th, John Ward, a supposed member of the gang, was shot by officers at Duncan.

In 1894, the three-story brick Wisnor Hotel of fifty rooms had a room with bath—the tub and other fixtures located in a corner of the room. The famous red and yellow coach of the Wisnor met the trains daily. The seventy-two room Whittington Hotel was advertised in 1896, as the finest between Kansas City and Fort Worth.

Like all Oklahoma towns there were livery stables and wagon yards. The first wagon yard, opened in 1887, charged 15c per night. The slogan of the Tom Smith livery stable was "Whip light, drive slow, pay cash, or no go." The charge for a horse during the week was $1.50 and $2.00, but the charge for four hours on Sunday was $2.50 and $3.00. Since board and room at this time was $3.00 per week, young dandies driving out with their girls paid dearly.

The Andersons opened the first bank, in 1889, and the first day received deposits of $203.75. They had listed capital of $3,200. On August 13, 1890, the First National Bank, chartered under the laws of Arkansas, opened.

By 1895 there were over 100 lawyers in Ardmore out of a population of about 3,000. James C. Thompson, the Cruce brothers, A. C., W. I., and Lee, Alexis Eddleman, Moran Scott, and C. L. Potter were among the leaders of the bar. These lawyers in the 1890's wore Prince Albert coats, high standing collars, and polished shirt fronts. Their offices had fine libraries,

deep carpets, and stenographers. One of these early lawyers, S. T. Bledsoe, became president of the Santa Fe railroad. Another, Lee Cruce, became the second governor of Oklahoma. All these men paid a $15.00 annual fee to the Chickasaw Nation for a permit to practice law.

Drug licenses were first issued to John T. Alexander and to M. L. Jamison. In 1889 W. B. Frame purchased a drug store. The Houston brothers bought out the Simmons Lumber yard in 1898. They formed a partnership in 1904 with Kenneth Hudson who had been in the cattle business in Africa and in Texas.

A survey which was made in 1884 showed that most of the men practicing medicine in the Choctaw Nation had never attended a medical college. Dr. Walter Hardy came to Ardmore Chickasaw Nation, in June, 1887, a graduate of the Missouri Medical College of St. Louis. Dr. Frederick von Kellar had degrees from Heidelburg and Rush Medical. By 1898 Dr. Hardy and other doctors had set up a hospital with twelve beds over the Ramsey Drug Store. He built Hardy Sanitarium in 1911. Later Dr. Hardy arranged a flying ambulance service for the oil fields. Home visits in the 1890's were $3.00 for home visits, $2.00 for office calls, and $1.00 per mile in the country.

Miss Lutie Hailey, a young lady from Perryville, near McAlester, who was just out of school in Missouri, came to Ardmore to be a bridesmaid in the wedding of Lee Cruce from Kentucky and Miss Chickie Le Flore. One of the ushers was U. S. Commissioner, Arthur Walcott. When Lutie became Mrs. Walcott the next year, the young couple built a large two-story house northwest of town. According to the custom in the Nation, their nearest neighbors, the Wolvertons, were a quarter of a mile away. Furnishings for the new house were shipped from St. Louis. When Mrs. Walcott's father wanted to give her a new piano, it was simplest for him to order it from New York for it could be shipped by water to Galveston and then north on the Santa Fe. Many years later, when allotments were made, Mrs. Walcott (of Choctaw descent) received hers just southwest of Ardmore. At the time of statehood when institutions were being apportioned and Ardmore was given the Confederate Home, Mrs. Walcott gave twenty-three acres of her land as a site for the Home. There were more than 100 United Confederate Veterans in Ardmore, and over 50 of the Grand Army of the Republic in the 1890's.

The Chickasaw Nation owned all the country and held off allotment of lands to individual citizens of the Nation until after the Atoka Agreement of April 23, 1897. This agreement with the Choctaws and Chickasaws was incorporated in the noted Curtis Act of the U. S. Congress in 1898, providing for the close

of the governments of the two nations. According to this Agreement, the lands of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations were to be alloted in severalty to their citizens. The Dawes Commission (U. S. Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes) had begun its work in 1893.

L. S. Dolman, who had read law in the Dawes law office in Topeka, Kansas, was among those who worked for the Commission. Mr. Dolman had been working in Lawton, but went to Tishomingo where he was employed as a "contest clerk." His job included hearing all those who claimed the right of enlistment on the tribal rolls for allotments of land in severalty. The hearing lasted for several years, and the rolls were not officially closed until the end of the Chickasaw government on March 4, 1907. There were many Negro freedmen, former Negro slaves and their descendants, whose names were included on the Chickasaw freedmen rolls. Most of them later received allotments (40 acres of average land) in what is now northwestern Carter County. When the rolls were finally closed, there were 4,783 citizens by blood, 635 citizens by intermarriage, and 4,670 freedmen on the Chickasaw rolls. Around Ardmore there were 10 white people to every Indian; in other parts of the Chickasaw Nation there were 2 or 3 whites to 1 Indian. Before the end of his service with the Commission, Mr. Dolman had moved to Ardmore.

The Dawes Commission also had the responsibility of surveying the land and appraising it. The Ardmore Board of Trade had called a mass meeting of leaseholders and renters in December, 1893, to form an organization to protect their investment in buildings. When the U. S. Citizen Protective League of the Chickasaw Nation was organized, 4,120 men joined it. In successive years W. A. Ledbetter and Clarence B. Douglas, whose father had built the second house in Ardmore, went to Washington to try to protect these investments from other whites who might try to move into the country. Surveys of Ardmore were completed in June, 1901, and approved in Washington the next January. Land in the townsite was offered to those who had been leasing it at 50% of appraised value for the homestead lot and one business lot. Other property was sold to the renters at 62½% of its appraised value. Buyers paid 25% down, and the balance in three years. Men who had built stores worth many thousands of dollars at last, in 1902, owned the property which had been built upon perhaps fifteen years before.

However, many of the buildings were comparatively new. For in April, 1895, a fire had broken out at one o'clock one morning in a livery stable, and by six o'clock eighty-five businesses and offices had burned to the ground. The only fire

protection had been a bucket brigade—remember there was no city government and no city taxes—and the well in the middle of Main Street had gone dry at the end of the first hour of fighting the fire. There was a $700,000 loss. Fortunately, most of the buildings were insured. That very day all the people of Ardmore gathered to clean up the mess. None of the lumber yards had burned, and within two months $165,000 had been contracted for new buildings. The stores on both sides of Main Street in the three blocks west of the Santa Fe, when they were rebuilt, were aligned so that no longer did one walk up and down steps to go from store to store. Many of the buildings rebuilt in 1895 were wrecked in 1915 when Ardmroe had a terrible tragedy: the explosion of one tank car loaded with casinghead gasoline standing on the Santa Fe tracks. Again—a second time—, new buildings were erected in the city.

Ardmoreites had filed petitions in 1890 and in 1895 to become incorporated as a second-class town but were refused. At last in April, 1898, Judge Hosea Townsend, who lived in Ardmore, approved the petition presented to the United States District Court in the Indian Territory, Southern Division. All men over twenty-one who had been in Ardmore over six months were eligible to vote; 1149 votes were cast out of a population of six thousand people. At once bonds were voted and by 1904 Ardmore had paving, water and sewage departments, a well-equipped fire department, sidewalks, parks, and a red brick city hall. Each man from eighteen to forty-five worked on the streets five days a year, or paid $1.00 to have someone else do the work. The early mayors were John L. Galt, 1898; Dr. W. T. Gardner, 1899-1900; James C. Thompson, 1901-1903; and R. W. Dick, 1903-1908.

In 1898 telephones and electric lights were installed. The central telephone office was in The Iron Store. Long distance lines were open to McMillan, Maysville, Oakland, and Mansville; the following year there was a line to Tishomingo. The telephone system was sold to Bell in 1911. For several years the only electric service was in the downtown area.

When Ardmore was first settled there had been a fine, large well at the *700 Ranch* house, and Mr. Clarence Douglas had one on his place. There was another northeast of the Santa Fe depot, and in very early days there was a large well in the middle of the street two hundred feet west of the intersection of Caddo and Main Streets, which was used until 1902 when water mains were laid. After the 1895 fire, three stone-faced cisterns were maintained on Main Street to furnish water for fighting fires. They were filled up after the City Lake was constructed in 1902, and the mains were filled.

Hargrove College, established in 1895 with six members of the faculty, all of whom had at least B.A. degrees, offered two years of college as well as primary, elementary, and high school courses. There were dormitories to accomodate the boys and girls who came from the surrounding country. To it, in 1902, came Miss Deskins of the "*JL Open A*" Ranch near Springer. Her father was from Virginia. On his way west he had married a cousin of Robert L. Owen in Owensboro, Kentucky. After attending Hargrove, Miss Deskins went to Central State at Edmond. Then she married an Ardmore attorney, Guy Sigler. This pattern of girls from the ranches marrying Ardmore men was typical.

When Ardmore incorporated, it was then possible to have public schools. On July 11, 1899, nineteen teachers took examinations for positions in the Ardmore schools. They all passed the examinations and were employed at salaries of $30.00 to $50.00 per month. However, it was not until Dr. Charles Evans came from Kentucky as superintendent, in 1905, that teachers were able to cash their warrants without a discount.

Among the outstanding Indian citizens who contributed to the growth of young Ardmore, Charles D. Carter, for whose family this county was named, is a fine example. Charles Carter, with Chickasaw and Cherokee blood in his veins, was educated at Harley Institute and at Austin College in Sherman, Texas. In the 1890's he was appointed Auditor of Public Accounts for the Chickasaw Nation and later was Superintendent of Public Instruction. In 1898 he became National Secretary for the Chickasaw Nation. In 1907 he was elected to Congress from this Oklahoma district and served until 1927. He died in 1929.

In 1902 land could be sold to interested people from other states. That summer John Dexter, who had just graduated from the University of Chicago, came down on one of the home-seeker trains with other Illinois men. What he saw fascinated him. He set up an office in Tishomingo, where the last land office was located. Later he and his wife moved to Ardmore. From promoting excursions of land-buyers, he enlarged his business to include farm loans, real estate, and investments.

When the question of statehood arose, Ardmore people favored one state, so men from this area ignored the Sequoyah convention called by the tribal governors at Muskogee on August 21, 1905. After statehood, with Charles Carter in Congress and Lee Cruce in the Oklahoma governor's mansion, Ardmore was greatly interested in state politics.

Several hundred Choctaws from Mississippi were brought by train to Ardmore in 1902. Few preparations had been made for their care. They were housed in unheated warehouses east

NIBLOCK SCHOOL AT ARDMORE, 1900

of the Santa Fe tracks, and many died. Eventually they received land allotments. Small boys in Ardmore told scary stories to each other about these Indians who spoke no English, and had no possessions to help them begin farming.

The story of oil in Carter County begins with talk of asphalt and oil springs. Interviews made on tape in 1956 present the story of its development as seen by Roy Johnson and R. H. Ramsey, oil producers, and Bob Stuchel, driller of the first well.

According to the history of the development at Wheeler which appeared in *Bulletin No. 2* of the Oklahoma Geological Survey (March, 1911), Eldridge had reported that there were oil seeps in what became Carter County, but only in 1903 did H. B. Goodrich suggest to the Santa Fe Railroad Company that they lease land and explore for oil. They secured 1,980 acres of land in fee, and so were ready to pursue exploration others could not handle.

Bob Stuchel's father was a driller in Pennsylvania, and Bob had worked on many wells. The South Penn Oil Company had sent him to Newfoundland where he was working when the Star Drilling Machine Company asked him to install the Star Standard Rig which the Ardmore and Boston Company had ordered. He was thirty-five when he arrived in Ardmore in January, 1904. Farley Richmond and Will Fraser hauled the machine out on Oil Spring Prairie west of "Oil City." They ordered pipe from St. Louis. When more pipe of a different size was needed, Mr. Stuchel went to St. Louis to get the pipe and see the World's Fair. He went on to Pittsburgh to see his family and friends. While he was away, other men got the under rimmer stuck in the pipe, and no one could get it out. The Ardmore and Boston Company was out of money, and owed Mr. Stuchel two months wages. They decided to quit. It was then that the Santa Fe Railroad Company moved in with a Columbia Drilling machine bought from National Supply Company. The well caved badly and second and third attempts produced gas and water.

The Santa Fe sent rig builders and timbers to Wheeler. Bulldog Smith built the first standard rig in the field. The tool dressers were Smith, Jim Murray, Charley Coolidge, and L. Bennett. This crew drilled in the well. On one well, the crew struck pockets of gas and the well burned. By the time the company had completed six wells, in 1906, they knew that there were two pay sands, one of gas and one of oil, separated by a few feet of shale. While work was going on, Mr. Stuchel was boarding with the lady who became Mrs. Stuchel. She owned part of a lease which was drill at Oil Prairie and had set up a double tent with a breezeway between. Here she lived and served meals. It was a daylong trip to

Ardmore for supplies to feed the drillers and crews, most of whom were from Boston or from Pennsylvania. The spring which furnished water regularly bubbled up a bubble of gas, which was always followed by a bubble of oil. A gas line was built to Ardmore from the Wheeler field in 1907. The Santa Fe built a pipeline and storage facilities from Oil City to north of Ardmore five years later. The oil at Wheeler was 22 gravity, for which there was then no market. Sometime afterward it was used for engines.

Among early wildcat operations was a series of wells drilled by W. N. Critchlow. He put wells down near Berwyn and then at Marsden. The Dixie Drilling Company had had a rig at Ardmore City Lake, and later there was a hole put down on the Bill Washington farm. The distinctive act of Mr. Critchlow, from the viewpoint of Mr. Stuchel, was that Mr. Critchlow would have no drilling done on Sunday because he was a preacher.

In 1907 Roy Johnson came to Ardmore to visit a friend who had just been hired as secretary of the Chamber of Commerce. Ardmore was being paved with asphalt, which to Mr. Johnson was "dead oil" sand. Mr. Johnson learned that there was an opening for a newspaper, bought a linotype machine, and in December, 1907, started a Republican paper in Ardmore, then called "heart of the little Confederacy." Into his office repeatedly came old Captain Cook. Mr. Johnson would take the old man over to the California Cafe on East Main Street, run by a Chinaman, where one could get a good meal for twenty-five cents. In gratitude, Captain Cook offered to show Mr. Johnson great riches. Eventually, Mr. Johnson and Ed Galt, just out of school, rented a rig from Cassie's stable across from the printing office, and drove west with the old man. Beyond Lone Grove, they cut a fence, camped in a field in the cold of a November night, and found water which smelled like rotten eggs (a sign of oil to Mr. Johnson.) They found a farm with a tin well-casing coated with oil. The family were straining the water they used because there were globs of oil in the bucket as it was hauled up. The road on the way home was so badly frozen that it took two hours to travel the last four miles, but Mr. Johnson had seen enough to convince him that he must drill for oil. Before he could raise the money, Captain Cook became mentally ill and was unable to help Mr. Johnson locate precisely the places where he had wanted Johnson to drill.

Part of the money for drilling was secured from M. D. Smith, who borrowed the money from a man in Vermont. Dings, president of the Banker's National Bank, urged Johnson not to gamble, but with the help of Ed Galt, who had gone to McAlester and secured some leases, they were ready to begin. The two men found that Wirt Franklin had a drawer of unsigned

leases made to C. M. Babcock of Humble Oil Company. Deals were made, and on land belonging to Wirt Franklin, oil was found near Healdton in 1913.

One of the first men from out of the state to invest was Charles R. Goddard, a stockholder in the young Humble Oil Company. Through his efforts much production was developed. Mr. Goddard retired from Humble in 1929, and built up his ranch northeast of Ardmore and made a game preserve. He continued the tradition of Ardmoreites serving the State by working as head of the anti-pollution program for the southern section of Oklahoma and by serving on the Fish and Game Commission. To show his appreciation and love for Ardmore, Mr. Goddard gave $1,400,000 in Humble and Standard Oil stock to the Ardmore Memorial Hospital.

In some of Mr. Johnson's activities, he joined with Mr. J. S. Mullen who owned or secured leases. Short term leases with $5.00 per month rentals were made on some property. At this time Mr. Johnson had on one of his bank statements the notation, "Overdraft $2.00. O.K." Mr. Dings persuaded W. N. Critchlow to drill one more well in this area. The well was started in July, 1913, and oil was found in August, forty barrels per day of good grade.

Jake Hamon induced John Ringling to finance a railroad west of Ardmore, and a branch was built north to Healdton. On this railroad there were several passenger trains per day and a double-header freight, for the roads were too poor to haul material to the oil fields over them.

The government was selling broken lots of land which had not been allotted by Indians. Men who bought this up and benefited from the Healdton field oil included C. R. Smith and Dad Joiner. Frank Merrick came to check on the holdings of J. B. Schermerhorn of Chicago, whose father had been a missionary to the Indians. Carrie L. McClure of McAlester, whose holdings Ed Galt had leased earlier, was Mr. Schermerhorn's daughter. Mr. Merrick developed some lease blocks which he later sold to Phillips Petroleum Company. Gradually holdings passed from other individuals into the hands of large companies.

The Ragtown field, nearest to Ardmore, was brought in by Mr. Critchlow who had decided that there was a big field in some direction from Healdton, but like everyone else, had no idea which way. Since he had leases to the south, he decided to drill there. In 1913 no one believed much in geology. Wildcatters said, "Oil, after all, is just where you find it."

When the Ragtown field was brought in, there was a great movement into Ardmore from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and

Indiana. People bought tents. Families came. It seemed that the country filled up with people overnight. The weather was good, the bayou was dry, and so was Whiskey Creek, which soon became the center of activity. The oil area proved in the following years to be about ten miles long and two wide.

Mr. Ramsey had a driller working for him who argued that the first wells brought in would be the best producers and that ten were as good as a hundred if they were properly developed. They hauled in pipe and drilled four wells quickly, striking sand at 640 feet, a shale break, and then more sand. Earthen tanks had been dug near these exploratory wells, and they were quckly filled. Then oil ran off and faded into the ground. Soon it was draining into the bayou. There was a two-inch stream from each of the four Ramsey wells. When the fall rains set in, oil ran on the water. The bayou caught fire and burned downstream for twenty or thirty miles, causing a lot of damage. Farmers downstream were indignant, but there was no place to dispose of the oil since there were no pipelines and all the tanks were full. The wells were never shut off since the owners believed that if production was ever stopped, they would never flow again.

During all this drilling activity, Ragtown was built. It extended on both sides of the road for a half mile, all one-story frame buildings with the exception of a "palatial establishment," as its owner called it, in the center. The first floor was a restaurant with a gambling joint in the rear. The upstairs was advertised for "Nell and her crowd." There were many holdups and killings. A person could not go from the lease into Ragtown unless he joined a party of ten or more. What happened to Ragtown? In dry weather it caught fire and burned completely. There was not a board left to serve as a reminder of what had been an exciting boom town.

It is impossible to credit all the famous oil men with all their achievements: Wirt Franklin on oil conservation, Russell Brown of Independent Producers Association, many famous lawyers, developers of fields in other places like Mr. Joiner, scholars and leaders like Dr. C. W. Tomlinson, whose desire to help the area led to developing Lake Murray. These all left a mark on Ardmore and other areas with oil interests.

Among the early merchants in Ardmore were the Noble brothers, who had a hardware store. One of the brothers had a son, Lloyd. When Lloyd, a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, came home after World War I, he established a drilling business with Art Olsen. By 1930, the partnership was dissolved and Mr. Noble had founded the Noble Drilling Company, one of the largest in the world. In 1945, he set up the Samuel Roberts Noble Foundation which is devoted to biomedicine, par-

ticularly studies in cancer research, and to an agricultural program of soil conservation. Today, more than 80% of the eroded cotton fields in this region have been returned to productive pasture because of the effort of the Noble Foundation and other interested groups.

What is Ardmore? It is the effort of people who came from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas, with a sprinkling of folk from Missouri, Kansas, and other states. It is the Indian, the intermarried, the white, and the freedman. It is ranchers, cotton farmers, merchants, professional men, educators, oil men. It is a group of people who rebuilt after a fire and then again after an explosion. As my husband so frequently said when he was announcing baseball games, "You can't beat Ardmore."

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THE 101 RANCH WILD WEST SHOW, 1904-1932

*By Barbara Williams Roth**

The rodeo as entertainment developed in the western United States during the last decades of the Nineteenth Century. It was nurtured by the loneliness of fronter life and by the advent of the "Northern Drive" which gave birth to a new American, the cowboy. Thousands of Texas Longhorns and hundreds of cowboys pouring into towns at the end of the "Trail" created an atmosphere that led to the development of these annual competitive contests. Rodeos included "bronco busting," calf roping, bulldogging and steer riding events in which cowboys competed primarily for the prestige that went to the winner.[1]

Rodeo contests were supplemented by 1900, with dramatizations of western life in programs known as Wild West Shows. While retaining the rodeo as a nucleus, these shows glamorized the harshness of pioneer life and the heroism of the men and women who had struggled to build a permanent western society. With the winning of the West far enough behind them, American audiences were now able to see the Indian, if not as a noble savage, at least as an ethnic curiosity. Historically, they were ready for the Wild West Show. Buffalo Bill, California Frank, Pawnee Bill and the Miller Brothers of Oklahoma's famed 101 Ranch capitalized on this entertainment medium by fascinating two generations of Americans with their elaborate western displays.[2]

The Miller Brothers' shows achieved realistic synthesis of western culture. Their 101 Ranch production was an impressive reminder of a past that would never live again.[3] Billed a "Real Wild West," the show was just that in every particular. It was

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* Barbara Williams Roth is writing a thesis for the M.A. degree under the direction of Dr. W. Eugene Hollon, in the Department of History, the University of Oklahoma. Mrs. Roth is a teacher of junior and senior English in Whittier High School, Whittier, California. She holds the B.A. degree from the University of Wichita, Wichita, Kansas, and is a former teacher in Taft Junior High School, Oklahoma City.—Ed.

[1] Ellsworth Collings and Alma Miller England, *The 101 Ranch* (Norman, 1937), p. 142. The earliest rodeos, or roundups as these contests were known then, were held in Cheyenne, Wyoming in 1872 and Winfield, Kansas in 1882. The Winfield Roundup was also the first commercial rodeo in the midwest, and fittingly the exhibition was presented by Colonel George W. Miller, father of the Miller Brothers.

[2] Gordon Hines, *True Tales From the Old 101 Ranch* (Oklahoma City, 1953), p. iv.

[3] *Ibid.*, Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Collection, The Wild West Show, University of Oklahoma Library, Manuscripts Division. Hereafter referred to as the 101 Ranch Collection.

(Courtesy, Div. Mss., Library, University of Oklahoma)

101 RANCH WILD WEST SHOW AT PONCA CITY
Billboard advertising on an old barn

an authentic display of ranch and frontier life as it had existed for years on the prairies of the Southwest. This authenticity was the result of Joseph C. Miller's desire to see the record of hardships and bravery of the pioneer and frontier days presented in an historically correct manner.[4] From its inception in 1908 until 1932 the 101 Wild West overshadowed its competitors with a program of spectacular showmanship and genuine western lore.

Colonel George Washington Miller founded the 101 Ranch along the Salt Fork River in Oklahoma's old Cherokee Outlet in 1879, on land leased from the Ponca Indians. Colonel Miller's three sons, Joseph, Zack, and George, expanded the lease until the ranch comprised approximately 110,000 acres of land in present Kay, Noble, Osage, and Pawnee counties. The Miller Brothers were the proprietors of a "Fabulous Empire," with an annual gross income of over one million dollars by 1905. As the world's largest diversified farm, the 101 Ranch became the agriculture showplace of Oklahoma. The Millers not only produced bumper wheat crops and prize livestock, but they also experimented successfully with apples, peaches, figs, and other plants thought unsuitable for cultivation in Oklahoma. While their success lay in the fact that they had become dirt farmers on a grand scale, the Millers continued to raise poultry and cattle. Joseph Miller was successful in the cross breeding of his Longhorn cattle with Brahma cows, and was able to produce a drought resistant animal. His notable failure in these experiments was his inability to breed zebra-striped mules to pull the show's circus wagons.

Activity on the 101 Ranch was not limited to agricultural production. It maintained a modern meat packing plant, a tannery, cider press, cannery, a crude oil refinery and a general store which sold the farm produce and other products to neighbors and Sunday visitors. The famous "101 White House" offered hospitality to even the most casual visitors until the guests became so numerous that cabins had to be erected to accommodate them. These guests created another side-line for the 101, the Dude Ranch, which operated until 1932.[5]

Like the Dude Ranch, the Wild West Show became another of the Miller Brothers' industries. The 101 possessed the livestock, personnel and tradition needed for such a program. Its owners had herded cattle up the Chisholm and the West Shawnee trails, they had watched the buffalo herds disappear from the Plains and knew the customs of the Indians on neighboring reservations—Ponca, Oto and others. The Millers employed many cowboys and cowgirls, including Hoot Gibson, Tommy Grimmes, Neal Hart, Claude Sanders, and Helen Gibson. The

[4] *Ibid., Daily Review,* 1929, p. 5 in file "Show Scripts."
[5] *Daily Oklahoman,* January 5, 1952.

Wild West Show took them and hired some of the Indians, thus organizing an entertainment extravaganza of immense proportions.

Miller accompanied Frank Greer of Guthrie, Oklahoma, to the National Editorial Association Convention in St. Louis in 1904. Their objective was to bring the 1905 Editorial Convention to Guthrie. Miller promised to stage a wild west show for them if the newspapermen would come to Oklahoma. The National Editorial Association accepted the proposal. Miller returned to the ranch to plan the semi-professional debut of the 101 Roundup Show. In May, 1904, the Miller Brothers held their first public performance as a dress rehearsal for the editors' program.[6]

Thirty thousand people journeyed to the 101 Ranch by special train, horseback, buggy and wagon. They jammed the newly constructed arena on the south side of the Salt Fork River to see the largest Roundup yet presented in Oklahoma. The program included riding and roping contests, Indian ball, a grand parade, and an Indian war dance and powwow. Geronimo from Fort Sill was the center of attraction that day as he rode into the arena to shoot an old buffalo during the mock buffalo hunt. The old Indian's first shot missed the animal and the bison had to be driven within point blank range before he felled it. The crowd, believing that the extra shots were all a part of the act, saw Geronimo only as the famous Apache warrior whom they already knew in legend.

On a hill beyond the arena the Millers staged the final act of the roundup. A train of prairie schooners lumbered over the rise and started to make camp for the night while the first bursts of sunset colored the summer sky. While the audience sat watching the wagon train, a band of Indian warriors appeared on the crest of the hill and began a thundering attack on the encampment. The spectators were immobile at first and suspiciously eyed the Ponca Indians seated in the grandstand in their ceremonial dress as if they were responsible for the massacre until they realized the attack was only a part of the act. Despite the heroic defense of the pioneers, fire engulfed the wagon train and the Indians rode victoriously back over the hill. Although this same act became an integral part of the Wild West Show, the reality of the first production was never duplicated.[7]

Public enthusiasm for this show resulted in a similar performance in 1906 for the thirteenth anniversary celebration of

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[6] Corb Sachet, "Roundup Started on 101 Ranch," *101 Ranch Magazine,* II (1926), p. 10.

[7] Collins and Miller, *op. cit.,* p. 146. This Roundup was also the occasion for introducing the Terrapin Derby which became an annual event.

the opening of the Cherokee Outlet. In 1907 Miller took the show to Convention Hall, Kansas City, Missouri; to the Jamestown Exhibition, Norfolk, Virginia; and to Brighton Beach, New York.[8] The phenomenal success of these roundups resulted in the idea of assembling a Wild West Show to tour the country. Such a venture, coinciding with the popularity of the Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill Wild West Shows, gave Miller invaluable models for his own show. Therefore, the Miller Brothers signed a contract in 1908, with Edward Arlington of the Ringling Brothers Circus to take their Roundup show on the road. At this time, they deleted the name "Roundup" and replaced it with the title, "Miller Brothers' and Arlington's 101 Ranch Wild West Show."[9]

Arlington and the Millers extended their 1908 contract in 1909, for the show season 1909-1910. Variations of this original contract were in effect from 1911 until 1916.[10] Their association during these years was never a partnership, but a financial agreement designed to make a greater profit. Neverthless, Arlington's experience placed him in a unique position as his influence manifested itself in every phase of production. The Arlington-Miller contract specifically designated Joseph C. Miller as the show's managing director and Arlington as managing director of the Advance Department. George L. and Zack T. Miller were to act as assistant managers to Joseph C. Miller. The contract provided for a joint banking account from which the expense of assembling and maintaining the show would be paid. One month prior to the opening date, Miller and Arlington each deposited adequate cash to cover the cost of assemblage and an additional five thousand dollars for the ticket wagon's use. Neither Miller nor Arlington drew any money from the account until the profits exceeded ten thousand dollars. In 1909 and 1910 this was the amount kept on deposit throughout the remainder of the season.[11]

The first schedule of engagements in 1908 included Ponca City, Guthrie, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Winfield and Wichita, Kansas; Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; Fort Madison, Iowa, and Chicago. The season opened with a multitude of problems. The directors were not experienced in organizing a sustained road show, and the performers were not seasoned

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8 *Ibid.*, p. 161. The Miller Brothers were invited to the Jamestown Exhibition by President Theodore Roosevelt.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Letter of William H. England to Joseph C. Miller July 15, 1913, 101 Ranch Collection, file 102.

11 *Ibid.*, Miller-Arlington Contract, 1909-1910, file 98. The profits were divided equally between Arlington and Miller.

veterans in the show business. Within the first thirty-five days of the tour Miller and Arlington lost approximately $35,000 for lack of publicity and because of rainy weather.[12]

There was no profit in 1908. The 101 Wild West Show expanded the next year to include approximately seven hundred cowboys and cowgirls, Indians, Cossacks, Mexicans, and a company of Rough Riders. The show now traveled in a special train of nineteen cars, which contained the most modern and luxurious accommodations then available. The year, 1909, was a more profitable season financially and artistically.

The 101 Ranch show went to Mexico City in September, 1910 for the centennial celebration of Mexican Independence. Bill Pickett, the Negro cowboy from the Pecos Valley in West Texas, accompanied the show. Zack T. Miller and others credit Pickett with being the first bulldogger. He had originated the stunt in the West Texas mesquite country where it was almost impossible to lasso a runaway steer. The animal was thrown to the ground by applying pressure to its neck and twisting its head.

Although bullfighting had been Mexico's national sport since the days of the Spanish Conquistadors, Mexicans were unfamiliar with Pickett's innovation. Posters depicting Pickett twisting a steer's neck and wrestling the animal off its feet appeared throughout Mexico City. The result was a violent outburst of public sentiment repudiating such vile treatment for *el toro*. On opening night, Pickett rode into an arena packed to the doors and put on one of the greatest exhibitions of steer bulldogging ever seen. The sleek Longhorn steer raced into the arena amid a chorus of shouts of *"Viva el toro"* and "Kill the Gringo." Pickett threw the steer but the Mexicans cheered the bull. When *el toro* succumbed to the pressure on his neck and dropped to the ground, the spectators began to hurl whatever was close at hand at Pickett. Pickett had released the bull and started from the arena when a stray bottle found its mark and he fell unconscious.

Miller and his cowboys rode into the arena with drawn guns. Miller lifted Pickett to his horse to carry him from the arena. A crowd of infuriated Mexicans had gathered outside the ring and, even after Miller shattered another bottle hurled at him and Pickett with his .45 revolver, it still took a police guard to escort the showmen from the stadium.

Miller and Arlington put the show on a sound financial basis between 1910 and 1912. They increased the profit margin and paid the show's debts. When the 1913 season opened in

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12 *Ibid.*, "Printed Material" file 99a; Collings, *The 101 Ranch*, p. 171.

May, in Washington, D. C., the show continued its prosperity despite competition from the Haggenback-Wallace Circus and the Buffalo Bill and Pawnee Bill Show. Miller believed that the 101's success in 1913 resulted from their effort to produce a good show rather than depending on their past reputation like the "Two Bills Show," old masters of Wild West productions.[13]

The 101 show went to Shepherds Bush, London, England, for the Anglo-American Exhibition in 1914. Although, for humanitarian reasons, the British strenuously objected to the steer roping contest, the show was enthusiastically received. Queen Mary rendered royal approval when she attended a matinee performance accompanied by her guests, the Czarina of Russia, and the Queens of Greece and Rumania. The outbreak of World War I terminated plans for an extended tour of Europe. The circus horses were given to the British government with the hope of saving a few of the most valuable animals. The British commandeered almost all of the show's mobile equipment to offset their perilous shortage. Employees as well as salvaged remnants of equipment and livestock were sent back to the United States.[14]

Despite this set-back, Miller and Arlington produced shows in 1915 and 1916. Their losses in England were partially off-set by the purchase of seventy-eight head of arena stock, the wardrobe, costumes, and lighting plant of the defunct "Two Bills Show."[15] By featuring Jess Willard, the cowboy pugilist, the 1915 program was built up without extensive expenditures. Willard accompanied the show with a crowd of personal attendants in his own twenty-thousand-dollar railroad car.[16] He was seen only in the Grand Entry Parade and in the "Jess Willard Side Show" which followed the main performance. This "concert," as it was billed, cost an additional twenty-five cents and gave those who attended a chance to see the "one and only Jess" spar with a carefully selected opponent.[17] The 1915 season was the show's most prosperous year since its inception. Miller attributed this prosperity to the increase of foreign money entering the United States for war supplies. This placed more available cash than usual at the disposal of the average man.

With the completion of the 1916 season, the show was disbanded. The problems created by World War I and the maintenance of the ranch concerned the Millers until 1925 when

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13 *Ibid.*, "Route Schedules," 1913; and *Ibid.*, Joseph C. Miller to William E. Hawks, 14 July, 1913, file 102.

14 *Daily Oklahoman*, January 4, 1952

15 Letter of Joseph C. Miller to William E. Hawks, 25 August 1913, 101 Ranch Collection, file 102; Joseph C. Miller to Billie Burke, August 25, 1913, *ibid.*

16 *Evening Sentinel*, August 3, 1915, in 101 Ranch Collection, file 97.

17 *Ibid.*, Newark (N.J.), *Evening Star*, August 23, 1915, file 97.

the show was reorganized as the "101 Ranch Real Wild West and Great Far East." The Miller Brothers merged elephants, camels, and all that goes with a three ring circus with the old 101 Show for their re-entry into the entertainment world. Purchase of the Walter L. Main Circus on October 1, 1924, facilitated reorganization and provided an entire assembly of twenty circus cars, with costumes and trained circus animals. This combined show provided an opportunity to contrast splendid circus showmanship with the drama of frontier life.[18]

The Millers devised a pageantry of nations as the feature of the new Far East division of the show. A general trend toward the spectacular was already evident in many circuses touring the country. Their pageantry of nations which opened the show was indicative of this trend. The Grand Entry performances of 1925, 1926, and 1927, with the theme "Rome Under Caesar," were followed by the spectacular "Circus Maximus" and the "Romanette Ballet." The show's eleven hundred performers provided the tremendous casts needed for these productions. Following the Circus Maximus, Captain Swift's Zouaves entertained the audiences with comic military drills. The Cossacks, trick riders, and an elephant act completed the program for the Great Far East.[19]

This trend toward the spectacular affected the Wild West division of the show. Thundering hooves, daring rescues, and a superabundance of gunfire dramatized memorable moments in history. A company of twenty cowboys, nine cowgirls, and numerous Indians and Mexicans performed in these historical dramatizations. Included in their acts were the capture and punishment of a horse thief, the "pony express" relay of the mail, a mock buffalo hunt, a stage coach holdup, and an Indian attack on a pioneer train of prairie schooners.[20] The two latter were the most popular and significant of these acts.

The Millers secured one of the old Deadwood stage coaches for the re-creation of a robbery by "Apache Kid." The coach was a reminder of the turbulent early period in western history. From a dramatic as well as an historic viewpoint, the dramatization of one of the famous Deadwood robberies fascinated the public.[21]

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18 *Ibid.*, "Printed Material," file 99a.

19 *Ibid.*, *Daily Review*, 1929, file "Show Scripts."

20 *Ibid.*, Poughkeepsie (N.Y.) *Enterprise*, file 97.

21 *Ibid.*, Knickerbocker (N.Y.) *Press*, August 13, 1915, in file 97; *Official Review*, p. 23, "Show Scripts": "The 101 Ranch coach was one of thirty-two sold by the Concord Manufacturing Company in 1863 to Louis McLane, president of the Pioneer Stage Company of California. The coach was shipped to McLane around the Horn in the clipper ship *General Grant* in February, 1864. During the era of desperados it ran between Deadwood and Cheyenne. Later. the coach made trips between Denver and Atchison, Kansas, but the name 'Deadwood Coach' clung to it."

(Courtesy, Div. Mss., Library, University of Oklahoma)

PARADE OF THE 101 RANCH CIRCUS
Shawnee, 1921

For the attack on the prairie schooners, the 101 presented a scene of the Pat Hennessey massacre, an incident of historical significance to the Millers as Oklahomans. The presence of Chief Bull Bear, who was reported to have perpetrated the attack on Hennessey, and Marshal W. H. Malaley, the hero of the rescue party, authenticated the dramatization.[22]

Indians played important roles in these historical tableaux. A portion of the program was devoted entirely to Indian ceremonials, particularly the dance. The war dances which delighted American audiences were the same dances which the United States government had sought to eradicate for years. The Indians executed the famous ghost dance, the dance of the sun, and, weirdest of all, the hideous dance of the Makis which was " . . . performed by a naked savage with a long wiggling snake which he worshipped and gloated over in apparent disdain of the excitement that he was creating among the feminine portion of the audience . . ."[23]

These Indians with the 101 Ranch Show represented more than twelve tribes and comprised a representative ethnological aggregation. There were the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Sac, Fox, Ponca, Osage, Apache, Sioux, Cherokee, and Navajo. Agents for the 101 searched the reservations adjoining the ranch for chieftains, warriors, squaws and papooses. These agents also brought Indians from reservations in the northwestern and southwestern parts of the country to the 101 Show. The discipline of such a diverse group required constant supervision by Miller and the tribal chiefs. Although the Indians frequently changed their minds about traveling with the show, (and this made it difficult to settle the security bonds that the 101 had to post for each individual) they received better care from the Millers than was received by Indians traveling with other circuses and wild west shows.[24]

Local Indians suitable for show purposes were increasingly difficult to find after 1925. Consequently, a greater number of Sioux and Apache began appearing in the program. The men received five dollars a week while the women who could ride were paid four. Each Indian supplied his own basic costume, supplemented by assorted headdresses and moccasins provided by Miller.[25]

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22 *Ibid.*, "Scrapbooks," file 97.

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*, *Official Review*, p. 7, file "Show Scripts"; Letter of Joseph C. Miller to John R. Brennan, July 19, 1913, file 102. The security bond guaranteed the Indians' salary and their return to their reservations at the end of the season.

25 *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Sarasani, December 3, 1926, in file 76. Letter of Miller Brothers to Postmaster, Bussteed, Montana, in 1926, file 74.

Such a divergent group of Indians touring the United States created many problems. On one occasion, for example, the inebriated "Rock Mountain Hawk" turned over the old Deadwood coach and injured several passengers.[26] The show was also involved in several lawsuits, usually the result of tavern brawls and street fights involving the Indian employees of the show.[27] A less serious problem encountered was the request of a group of Plains' Indians that they be allowed to leave the show to attend the New York Hippodrome.[28] Although as a group the Indians were well behaved, the Millers rarely placed them in charge of fellow employees. It was very difficult to find men who understood the Indians' needs as people and as performers. Therefore, the Millers always supervised the Indians and their needs in the 101 Show.

The Indians were the most popular feature of the show because of their unque customs and appearance. The only other ethnic group to receive equal acclaim were the forty-six Cossacks. These members of Russia's famous light cavalry, under the leadership of a Prince Lucas, presented an exhibition of horsemanship equal to the 101 cowboys.[29] The Cossacks also performed as musicians and dancers, but more often appeared as trick riders.

The Cossacks touring with the show from 1925 to 1927 had been brought from Europe, by Miller in 1924. They were not citizens of Soviet Russia but refugees from Czarist Russia who were then residing in France. They came to the United States with the idea that they would be able to remain here as farm laborers. Unfortunately, when the men discovered that they would have to return to Paris following the show's season, most of them ran away. By December 12, 1926 only eleven of the forty-six had returned to France, and the company which had posted the security bonds required by the United States Immigration Service declared them undesirable risks. Obtaining visas and security bonds for the Cossacks became impossible because of this incident. Therefore, in 1927 Miller employed only eight Cossacks.[30]

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26 *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Billie Burke, August 3, 1913, file 102.

27 *Ibid.*, Letter of William H. England to Edward Arlington and Joseph C. Miller, December 31. 1910, file 100. The Clarksdale, Mississippi lawsuit is an excellent example of such litigation.

28 *Ibid.*, Letter of W. H. Barten to Friend Bear in the Woods, May 16, 1910, file 100. The United States Government was cautious about lending its Indians anyway, and would not have approved such a trip.

29 *Ibid.*, *Official Review*, p. 17, file 100.

30 *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Stefan Rondareff, March 23, 1927, file 74; Letter of Joseph C. Miller to M. Varenick, February 22, 1927, file 73. Varenick was the representative for the Cossack riders and musicians. He supplied the show with six of the eight Russians employed in 1927.

(Courtesy, Div. Mss., Library, University of Oklahoma)

101 RANCH SHOW
Tents and show grounds at Shawnee, 1927

(Courtesy, Div. Mss., Library, University of Oklahoma)

CROWD AT 101 RANCH SHOW, SHAWNEE, 1927
Side Show and Big Show Entrance

The marksmen were the 101's most renowned wild west specialists. During the show these performers used a variety of guns: Springfield 1873 model rifles, Winchesters, Smith and Wesson revolvers, and Colts. In their sharp-shooting acts, however, they preferred Winchester rifles and carbines. The 101 absorbed outstanding marksmen like Captain Ted Lewis, Stack Lee, Selma Zimmermon, Jack Webb, Edith Tantlinger, Princess Wenona and Tex Cooper. They received better publicity and larger salaries than the other performers in the show.[31]

Although the 101 Wild West and Great Far East offered variety enough to please every one, a successful season depended more on professional organization than public interest in cowboys, Indians, and Cossacks. A profitable tour was based on three factors: a noncompetitive route schedule for three quarters of the season, the weather, and a knowledge of local habits and general prosperity. Of these, the route schedule was of primary importance. Arlington believed that the first consideration in planning the route was population. His route schedules brought the show from St. Louis immediately into the thirty thousand population areas represented by New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The variable weather and agrarian economy of the mid-west bolstered this plan for the early summer months.[32] A comparison of the route schedules for 1913, 1915, 1926 and 1927 reveals that the show always went directly into the middle Atlantic states, breaking the distance with appearances in major midwestern cities.

Early in March, after the route schedule had been officially determined, a railroad car left the 101 Ranch with the show's advance agents aboard. They traveled the proposed route, organizing publicity, verifying transportation facilities and arranging for compliance with city ordinances regulating parades, show lots, and sanitation.[33] Publicity was expensive, costing $1,700 to $2,200 a day in 1925, and was dependent upon the support of local newspapers.[34] The 101 Show agents bought generous advertising space, and frequently arranged for the newspaper to handle the advance ticket sales in a particular area. Occasionally

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[31] George Virgines, "Guns of the 101 Ranch," *Guns*, X (November, 1964), p. 36. As early as 1911 Princess Wenona was receiving $250.00 a month, the largest salary paid to any employee at that time.

[32] Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Edward Arlington, March 2, 1927, in 101 Ranch Collection, file 73. (Arlington always followed John Ringling two weeks behind practically stand for stand.) After World War I, the 101 show found the competition of Ringling Brothers Circus prohibitive when they preceded them.

[33] *Ibid.*, Letter of F. W. Owens to William F. Christian, April 20, 1927, file 76. Show lots rented for $150.00 per day. Insurance and Sanitation bonds of $50.00 to $100.00 had to be posted in all cities.

[34] *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Edward Arlington, May 23, 1925, file 73. Although the show's receipts exceeded his expectations, their expenditures had increased in the same proportion.

a paper requested a reciprocal favor for its support. The powerful Detroit *News* requested a morning performance for six thousand newsboys in 1925. The newspaper gave the 101 in return front-page stories and a large picture layout.[35]

Newspapers as a whole gave the show its most enthusiastic endorsement. This was particularly noticeable in towns where the 101 Ranch street parade was a part of the program. A characteristic feature of Big Top performances, the 101 parade extended for over a mile along the parade route. Buglers, floats depicting western life, a band wagon with life size carvings of Ponce de Leon and an Aztec sacrifice, plus a calliope added to the glamour. It was a picturesque record of western history and had immense popularity.[36]

The correspondence of Miller and Arlington consistently reflects their concern over the affect of the weather. Inclement weather not only cancelled the parade, but also affected the profitability of the entire show. During their appearance in Boston in 1925, the heat was so intense that people boycotted the show. Instead of the profitable appearance which had been anticipated, the show lost money.[37] That same year heavy rainfall in Iowa cut into their profits, and a cyclone at Evansville, Indiana, tore down the tents just an hour before the evening performance. Floods in Louisiana and Mississippi in 1926, coupled with the low price of cotton forced the show to close a month ahead of schedule in Birmingham, Alabama. The following year unseasonably hot weather precipitated a net loss of twenty thousand dollars within three weeks.[38]

While these events do not represent the seasons' profit and loss as a whole, they do indicate that the wild west show was a consistent financial risk. An analysis of the show's receipts between 1908 and 1930 reveals that the Miller-Arlington combination which lasted from 1908 until 1916 was the only profitable period for the show. During this time the 101 show grossed approximately $800,000. After 1925, however, the Millers were caught between the circus giants, the Barnum and Bailey interest

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[35] *Ibid.*, Telegram of Frank Braden to Joseph C. Miller, August 12, 1925, file 73.

[36] *Ibid.*, Holyoke (Mass.) *Telegram*, August 11, 1915, and (Mass.) *Daily Democrat*, August 30, 1915. file 97. The cowboys, and cowgirls, Cossacks, Indians, Deadwood coach, and Prairie schooners also participated in the parade.

[37] *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to Edward Arlington, October 8, 1925, file 76. Their failure in Boston was due to two other causes: (1) the 101 was preceding the Ringling Circus and (2) their show lot was not easily accessible and it had an extremely small parking lot.

[38] *Ibid.*, Letter of Joseph C. Miller to D. B. Carson, September 21, 1927, file 76. Also business and available cash were off about one third. During the 1927 season Arlington warned that unless the expenditures and size of the show were cut back there would not be any profit.

and the Amercan Circus Corporation. In this situation, the profitable non-competitve season became an impossibility. After World War I, the expense of maintaining the show increased alarmingly, particularly after its spectacular reorganization. In 1926, the 101 Show had a loss of approximately $119,870.45, with similar losses incurring each year thereafter. In 1931, unable to pay its employees, the show broke up in Washington, D. C., marking the end of an era in American entertainment.[39]

Three pressures—death, debt and depression—plagued the 101 from 1925 to 1932. When Joseph Miller died on October 21, 1927, the 101 lost its most able director. His contribution to the ranch's success had been his genius for synthesizing the Millers' diverse enterprise. Although George L. Miller proved to be a capable administrator, he appears to have lacked the elder Miller's integrated conception of the 101. George Miller's death on February 2, 1929, left direction of the ranch to Zack T. Miller, the last of the famous trio of brothers. Zack Miller was primarily a cowman, unprepared by training to coordinate the Miller enterprises, particularly because of the debts which saddled the ranch when the depression came in 1929.

These debts mounted steadily after 1925. The Wild West Show contributed to the drain on the ranch finances, but the greater depletion came from the loss of oil leases and royalties. Between 1925 and 1930, the Millers secured over a half million dollars worth of mortgages on their holdings. They apparently assumed, like many other businessmen, that the recession was temporary. When the depression came in 1929, the bottom fell out of the oil business and livestock, and agricultural produce sold at a record low. Internal conflict over the management of the ranch, which resulted in the appointment of an administrator, failed to bring economic stability. Therefore, companies holding mortgages began a foreclosure movement which ended with the public auction of the 101 Ranch.[40]

In the last decade before the turn of the century, Buffalo Bill introduced the Wild West Show to American audiences. Realism achieved through the authentic reproduction of western life brought success to Cody, but inherent in this success lay the germs of the Wild West Shows' ultimate decay. Shoddy imitations with their side shows and circus programs tended to ruin the entertainment as a type and eventually affected both the Pawnee Bill Show and the 101 Wild West. The picture of pioneer America diminished and a formless mixture of Zouaves, Cossacks, clowns, high jumping horses, chariot races, bull fights, and buffalo hunts dominated the programs. The realism of the Wild West

[39] Collings and Miller, *The 101 Ranch,* p. 186. In order to make a profit the show had to take in $6,000.00 to $8,000.00 a day.

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 211-214.

Show became . . . "something neither circus nor rodeo, but a hybrid lacking completely the grand illusion of the one and the swift bold unity of the other."[41]

When the Millers entered the entertainment business again in 1925, they faced a rival more potent than the movie. Frontier Days entertainment had become an annual event in many western communities and had almost fulfilled the place once held by the traveling Wild West Shows. The prototype of the modern rodeo emerged in the Pendleton Roundup and the Madison Square Garden Rodeo. The Wild West Show could not compete with this and other relatively inexpensive entertainment media. This competition, coupled with the increasing expense of producing big top entertainment, marked the end of the "fabulous wild west."[42]

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41 Winifred Johnston, "Passing of the Wild West, A Chapter in the History of American Entertainment," *Southwest Review,* XXI (October, 1935), pp. 33-51.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

A HISTORY OF THE SANDSTONE CREEK AREA UP-STREAM FLOOD PREVENTION PROJECT

*By Annie Laurie Steele**

The Sandstone Creek Watershed Project pioneered flood control programs in Oklahoma and in the nation. As part of the Upper Washita Conservation District, it set the pattern followed in the entire Washita River watershed. The Washita in turn served as a pattern for large river watersheds throughout the world.[1]

In this new approach to flood control and soil conservation, the Soil Conservation Service and 127 landowners in the Sandstone watershed worked out plans to make the earth one vast sponge. The farmers planted deep-rooted grasses that canaled rainfall into natural underground reservoirs. They changed to contour plowing and crop rotation, and built 450 miles of terrances. To hold back heavy rains that the soil could not soak up, a network of small earthen dams was built. The grand design was to "trap the raindrops where they fell."[2]

Until 1952 few waterways in the nation had more floods mile for mile than Sandstone Creek—an average of nine each year. So much soil was washing down from bleeding gullies and eroded hillsides that the creek was filling up half a foot a year.

Sandstone Creek, a tributary to the Washita River, runs through the rolling Red Plains of western Oklahoma. Most of the soils were formed under prairie cover, but some were formed under mixed grass and shinnery. Depth of the soil varies from shallow or very shallow to deeply formed soils of stream terrace and alluvium areas. The watershed, consisting of 68,770 acres, is 15 miles long and 6 miles wide. Construction work started in 1950 and was largely completed in 1952. The Sandstone Creek watershed lies mostly within a triangle formed by the towns of

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* Mrs. Annie Laurie Steele is a writer of historical articles on Western Oklahoma, having had a long and continuous interest in the history, the people, and the land of the Washita Valley. A greater part of her teaching career has been spent in communities near the Washita River, beginning at Herring in the Standstone area. She is now a school counselor in Chickasha.—Ed.

1 *Cheyenne Star,* February 14, 1963.

2 *Readers' Digest,* June 6, 1956, pp. 135-138 (Condensed from *National Municipal Review.* May, 1956) Peter Farb, "A Flood Control Plan That Works."

(USDA-SCS Aerial Photo, 1954)

FLOOD ON THE UPPER WASHITA RIVER
Note barn in background surrounded by water.
Scene of flood north of Stafford, Custer County.

Sayre, Elk City and Cheyenne, and flows in a northeasterly direction, entering the Washita River about eight miles southwest of Hammon.[3]

Before the advent of the land openings to settlement by pioneer farmers, Oklahoma's western prairies had a top layer of spongy soil held in place by native grasses ranging from a tenuous hold of the short grasses on rough hillsides to deep penetrating networks of ten-foot root systems of blue stem and Indian grass. This layer of natural growth and its humus soaked up much of the rain, allowing the rest to flow into the streams.[4]

A large part of Roger Mills County was permanently settled during the years 1905 through 1909, when rainfall was plentiful. Drought struck in 1910 and lasted three years. Rains blessed the plains from 1914 to 1930 except for a dry spell in 1917-1918. When the characteristic downpours came, hills that had been turned to crops lost their precious top layer. Runoff down new furrows picked up rich humus and soil nutrients as it made its way to the creeks and rivers.[5]

The once sparkling water of the Washita took on a brownish color. Silt fans appeared and the springs began to disappear or go dry during the summer. The river became known as the "muddy Washita." This once beautiful river took on a ragged dress of caving banks, silt-filled channels, and dry stream beds. Frequent floods became a serious problem to the farmers along the streams.

Homesteading had required farmers to plow ten acres of every 160. Soon additional acres were broken, and much of this was poor land which should not have been plowed.[6] By the spring of 1931 plows had broken most of the land in the southern plains and several million marginal acres. Dust storms began in the autumn of 1933 and blew for five years. Many fields lost from two to twelve inches of topsoil. Some fields became sand dunes.[7]

When the rains came, floods roared down the eroded canyons sweeping away tons of topsoil and burying fields under a layer of silt. Sandstone Creek averaged nine floods a year with an annual damage of $60,000. In April 1934 a storm produced eleven inches of rainfall on the watershed and that of neighboring tributaries, causing the loss of 17 lives near Hammon.[8]

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[3] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, May 1952, "Where Floods Begin." The Sandstone Creek area is generally located in Roger Mills, Beckham, Custer and Washita counties.

[4] Senator Robert S. Kerr, *Land, Wood, and Water,* (New York: Fleet Publishing Company, 1960), p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 67; also, "The Washita, Land Treatment and Flood Prevention," U.S. Department of Agriculture, S.C.S., Stillwater, Oklahoma, November, 1964.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Kerr, *op. cit.* p. 67.

[8] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

Out of such ordeals came an awareness of the need for action and the decision by farmers and townspeople to seek technical advice and assistance in looking for a solution to their problem. In the early 1930's a group of leaders along the Washita River had realized the urgency for taking steps to reduce the flooding of fertile land lying along the river and its tributaries. As a result, mainly of the efforts of this group, Congress in 1936 authorized the Department of Agriculture to survey the problems and needs of the area.[9]

In 1944 Congress passed a flood control act authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to undertake works of improvement for runoff and waterflow retardation and soil erosion prevention in eleven watersheds in the United States, the Washita being one of them. Soil Conservation Districts and the Soil Conservation Service concluded that the best way to develop a flood prevention program was to consider problems and needs of one entire creek watershed. As a result, the Washita River was divided into 64 subwatersheds for planning purposes.[10]

Sandstone Creek was the first watershed to be completed using the concept of a coordinated program of land treatment and upstream detention reservoirs for flood control. Land improvement included terraces, field diversions, cover cropping, strip cropping, contour cultivation, seeding in native grasses, fencing of grassland, building farm ponds, and improved range management. The mechanical structures were primarily detention reservoirs and gully plugs. These plugs, which themselves were small reservoirs, slowed the runoff flow through deep gullies and filtered out the silt, keeping most of it from piling up in larger detention reservoirs. Eventually they began to fill themselves and started healing over the gullies.[11]

The success of this first flood control project on Sandstone Creek proved to be dramatic. In addition to cutting soil erosion and practically eliminating flood damage, many other benefits have been, and will continue to be, realized: irrigation of field crops and gardens, a dependable supply of water for livestock, increased land value, increased production, opportunity for the development of recreational areas, fishing and wildlife benefits, and many others. "This plan for the Washita soon attracted wide support. There was real appeal to the idea of small bands of farmers fighting the scourge of floods with little dams and terraces, attacking trouble at its source . . ."[12]

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9 *Ibdi.* p. 3.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

11 Charles Straub, "Little Dams Stop Big Floods," *The Farm,* Vol. 13 (1954), U.S.D., S.C.S. Reprint.

12 U.S. Department of Agriculture, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The U. S. Department of Agriculture gives much of the credit for the success of this project to those people who owned the land. No technical program of such magnitude had been attempted in the history of American agriculture. The leadership of the program rested on local groups. Local action was required to start any individual watershed development. Locally planned, canvassing and other means were required to create a public understanding of the program and the need for it. Completing the soil conservation practices was the landowner's job, and easements were required for construction sites. The success or failure then depended on the people who owned the land.[13]

The outstanding conservation enthusiast, lay leader and spokesman for the Sandstone Creek project in the Upstream Flood Prevention and Watershed Development Program has been Mr. L. L. Males, banker of Cheyenne in Roger Mills County. Mr. Males' ardent support of soil conservation and good land use started thirty years ago. One who knows him well, writes of him: "His close association with the economy of an agricultural community made him realize that the muddy floodwaters of the Washita River was not just a calamity that affected the few who were flooded, but that the muddy water was the life blood of the country and that such disastrous waste was the life blood of the country and that such disastrous waste was fast destroying the wealth of his community."

When he became president of the Security State Bank of Cheyenne, Mr. Males put the resources of the bank behind a conservation program. His bank bought terracing equipment, encouraged farms to terrace their land, and loaned them money to do the job. Through the years, Mr. Males has written letters and talked to groups of all kinds from coast to coast, telling the Sandstone Creek story of the first completed upstream watershed in the world and its effect on preventing flooding of farm land in Oklahoma. This has encouraged other watershed programs

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 12. (Mrs. Annie L. Steele wishes to express grateful acknowledgement to those who helped make possible this account of the Sandstone Creek Project: Clarence Fly, Luther Nunley, Wilbur Payne of the Chickasha U.S.D.A. Soil Conservation Service offices; Wm. L. Vaught of the State S.C.S. offices; Odos Henson of the Clinton, S.C.S. office; Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Males of Cheyenne; Augusta, Howard and Helen Metcalfe of Roger Mills County, who accompanied the Paynes and the writer on a tour of the Upper Washita Project. Mrs. Augusta Metcalfe and her son, Howard had made the trip many years ago in a spring wagon to find the source of the Washita River. Her descriptions and stories of the earlier journey were most rewarding and helpful.)

[14] *The Elk City Daily News,* Friday, June 7, 1963, p. 1; *The Cheyenne Star,* Thursday, August 26, 1965, p. 1.

over the country.[14] The following excerpt is from a letter written by Mr. Males for R. C. Longmire, President of the Washita Flood Prevention Council:[15]

It grows more difficult each day to tell in a few words the economic benefits of the watershed program to our area. We haven't lost crop, bridge, road, farm improvements, or livestock since our project was installed. In fact, instead of losing crops and other property to floods with the sad economic effects this brings to people, we are now harvesting our own crops and spending the money ourselves. This can be seen in the new barns, new tractors and cars, and new homes on Barnitz, Sandstone, Dead Indian, and other creeks. On one six-mile road out of Cheyenne, six farm families lived a few years ago with aggregate annual income of less than $40,000. Today 14 families live out there and their aggregate annual income is over $250,000. Five of these are father-son partnerships. Six use irrigation water, which helps stabilize the livestock industry for the whole area by furnishing a source of hay.

Another bonus benefit is recreation. Water based recreation is something we had never dreamed about in this dry area and now everybody goes in for it. All the farmers have boats, and all the bank clerks who can afford it have them. Almost any weekend at least a hundred cars will be parked around just two of these reservoirs. Near one of these lakes two country stores now prosper where only one could prosper before, and these two stores sell around a thousand out-of-state fishing licenses per year.

Our dream of an area with the hills in waving grass and the bottoms protected from floods and producing abundantly from intensified farming with a pool of beautiful sparkling water here and there is rapidly becoming a reality. What it does for people perhaps is the best measuring stick, and our people must be prospering because our bank total resources have gone from about $100,000 at the low mark in the dirty thirties up to nearly $5,000,000 in December of 1963.

L. L. Males, Secretary
Washita Flood Prevention Council

In addition to its proximity to the famous Sandstone Creek Project, Cheyenne in Roger Mills County is the center of a region steeped in historical interest. This section of the state for many ages was part of the background against which moved a vast panorama of colorful and dramatic events.

Prehistoric people who lived in what is now Western Oklahoma, perhaps as long ago as 10,000 to 15,000 years, hunted animals now extinct, and lived in caves or holes under rock ledges. They probably journeyed out along streams, valleys and canyons where water, as well as abundant game and wild plants, were available.[16]

The Great Plains made for easy entry from the southwest and from the north. For thousands of years Indian tribes moved

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[15] "The Washita, Land Treatment and Flood Prevention," *loc. cit.*, 1964.

[16] A. M. Gibson, "Prehistory in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Spring, 1965.

(USDA-SCS Photo by Perryman, 1962)

YOUTH RANGE CAMP
Group picnicing near Dead Indian Lake, Upper Washita River.

(USDA-SCS Photo by Whittington, 1955)

EXAMINING HEIGHT OF GRAIN SORGHUM
This field irrigated from Sandstone Creek produced about 15 tons of feed per acre. Feed in same field not irrigated was not worth cutting.

across the area in seasonal migrations. Traveling on foot and taking with them their families, dogs, shelter, and such weapons and utensils as they possessed, many plains Indians regularly followed the bison herds northward and southward as they grazed on pasturage of natural grasses. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish introduction of horses among these tribes increased their mobility and thus increased the frequency and extent of tribal raids.[17]

Spanish explorers in the sixteenth century, later French-Indian trappers and hunters, and still later, American explorers, trading expeditions, emigrants on the California Road were all visitors in this land.[18] Indian tribes of the Plains knew foreigners trespassing on their land, wantonly destroying game, building forts, or farming settlements in the Indian country. They raided the intruders, and the intruders struck back with armies. From 1850 minor uprisings, wars, and treaties were followed by more disastrous wars. Finally the treaties of 1867 with the government were drawn up, and the Indian chiefs agreed to live within prescribed boundaries.[19] In 1869 President Grant set the location of reservation boundaries for the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho in Western Oklahoma.[20]

One impressive scene in this area is that of the Antelope Hills, thirty miles northwest of the county seat. These hills are made up of conspicuous irregular peaks that rise out of the plains and were once a landmark for the international boundary between the United States and Mexico.[21] They were also a familiar sight to travelers along the California Road, first used in the spring of 1849 by gold-seekers under a military escort commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy.[22]

According to Mr. Kent Ruth, "When white men first knew the Antelope Hills, the vicinity was the favorite home of the Comanches. Here they sought refuge following marauding forays into Texas and Mexico, and here should soldiers seek them, they were certain to be found in large numbers."[23] Just northwest of

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17 Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), pp. 15-17.

18 John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), Numbers 6 to 22.

19 Oliver LaFarge, *The American Indian* (New York: Golden Press, 1960), p. 140.

20 Edwin C. McReynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

21 Kent Ruth and Others, *Oklahoma, A Guide to the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), p. 458.

22 Oklahoma Historical Society. Historical Marker at Junction of U.S. 283 and S.H. 47.

23 Kent Ruth, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

the Antelope Hills on Little Robe Creek is the site of a spectacular Comanche battle with Texas Rangers under Col. John S. Ford in 1858.[24]

Two miles west of Cheyenne a granite marker commemorates the Battle of the Washita. Here in the winter of 1868 Colonel George A. Custer led his cavalry from Fort Supply to the Washita River, and in the night closed in on three sides of Chief Black Kettle's encampment of Cheyennes. A few days before, Black Kettle had visited General William B. Hazen at Fort Cobb to ask protection for his tribe which had gone into winter camp on the Washita. On the morning of November 27 a heavy snow covered the ground. "Custer's troops swept into camp, killing men, women, and children. The camp was virtually annihilated." The Cheyenne's horses were gathered up and shot. Their equipment and provisions were burned.[25]

Black Kettle Museum in Cheyenne displays weapons, relics, and printed materials which interpret the historical significance of this event. Black Kettle District of the Panhandle National Grasslands was also named for this Cheyenne Indian chief. A tract of 30,826 acres acquired by the U. S. Department of Agriculture during the dust bowl days was later turned over to the U. S. Forest Service. Two Sections of these grasslands have been developed as recreational areas, Dead Indian Creek detention reservoir south of Roll, and Skipout Lake southeast of Reydon. Both have facilities for camping, swimming, boating, and fishing.[26]

Settlers in this western country in the early 1890's remember hearing the distant beat of Indian drums along the Washita valley every night throughout the summer months and into the fall. At first they felt some uneasiness, but soon they realized these Indians were not hostile nor resentful of the intruders.[27] There was no danger of war, for Wovoka had commanded peace, and these dances were expressions of faith in their prophet. Wovoka, a Paiute who had lived with a Mormon family far out west, told of a vision in which the Great Father promised that the white man would go away, and buffalo would again come back to the plains. Cheyennes and Arapahoes at this time were no longer hostile, but had been reluctant to take up the ways of the white man. They danced the Ghost Dance and sang the songs with ever-rising hope. However, belief in the new religion

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24 "Antelope Hills, Landmark to Travelers a Century Ago", *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 23, 1939, p. 43.

25 John Clabes, "Custer Ambushed Cheyennes 90 Years Ago," Oklahoma City Times, November 27, 1958, p. 6.

26 "Battlefield Hunting Grounds," *Oklahoma Wildlife,* July-August, 1965, pp. 6-9.

27 "The Run in the Short Grass," *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 16, 1961, pp. 4-5.

(USDA-SCS Photo by Whittington, 1955)

A RANCHER OF ROGER MILLS COUNTY
String of Fish caught out of one of the 24 detention reservoirs on Sandstone Creek Watershed, Upper Washita.

was given up within a few years under great disappointment, after Apiatan, a Kiowa, was sent to investigate the source of the doctrine and found it false.[28]

With the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation to white settlement, April 19, 1892, came the landseekers to build their soddies, dugouts, and picket houses. Augusta Metcalfe as a little girl came with her family to western Oklahoma from Kansas. She now lives on a ranch in the Washita valley, not far from the Antelope Hills. Mrs. Metcalfe is known as one of Oklahoma's leading artists and internationally known as a painter of western life. In oil paintings, watercolor, and ink sketches she has recorded this saga of the men and women who came to find homes at the time of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Run or in the years that followed.[29]

Parts of this former Cheyenne-Arapaho land lay in the path of the Great Western Cattle Trail, where in 1877 an estimated 201,159 head were pushed up the trail to Dodge City, by Texas drivers.[30] When the Reservation was thrown open to settlement by run on April 19, 1892, it was far from railroads and considered almost too arid for agriculture. Hence about 2,000,000 acres in the western half of the reservation remained in use of ranchmen for several years.[31] Today ranching is still a profitable part of the agriculture industry of that country. Local interests and activities that reflect these influences include the annual rodeo, enjoyment of the square dance, the "Cowbelles" annual meeting in the home of Mrs. Daisy Dunn, and the Old Settlers' picnic at Grand.

Success of the Sandstone Creek Project has drawn worldwide attention to Western Oklahoma. Cheyenne's residents are accustomed to foreign visitors, and turbans no longer get a second look along main street. In the same week groups came from India and Indonesia. Visitors have included delegations from fifty foreign nations and all fifty states, United Nations tours, groups of overseas farmers, bus loads of bankers, farmers, and county agents.[32]

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28 Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), p. 45.

29 Melven Harrel, "My Life in the Indian Territory, the Story of Augusta C. Metcalf," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIII (1955).

30 John W. Morris and Edwin C. McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), number 40.

31 Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma, A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 299.

32 Fred Grove, "Sandstone Creek, International Example," *Oklahoma Today,* Autumn 1964, p. 23.

"THE ONLY WAY" CHURCH AND THE SAC & FOX INDIANS

By R. Morton House *

Thirteen miles north of Stroud, Oklahoma, on State Highway 99, east of the road, near a small creek, so nearly hidden from view by surrounding trees that it is seldom noticed by speeding drivers on the highway, stands a small church and a parsonage nearby. If you are driving by at the proper time on a Sunday morning you will be repaid if you stop and take part in the services.

This church is unique in several respects. It has no bell. The homemade seats and altar were made of native oak lumber more than eighty years ago.[1] Its members are Sac and Fox Indians. The church has served Indian and white worshipers of many denominations many miles from its present location, for many years. The peculiarity however which is most noticeable, is the name of the church, "The Only Way," painted over the door.

I first saw this church on the morning of October 18, 1889, in Indian Territory before that area was opened to white settlement, and I worshiped in it regularly every Sunday, and served as its janitor for four years, and infrequently worshiped in it for six more years. This Missionary Baptist Church with its congregation and the religion taught there, is far more than "just another little country church." It is a unit among a host of similar churches scattered over our country, which are the result of 350 years of the inexorable forces constantly at work on the amalgamation of two races of people in the United States.

After the close of the Civil War, thirteen Indian reservations were established in the Indian Territory west of where the Five Civilized Tribes had been permanently located before the war, in conformity with a policy of Indian consolidation pursued by the government. In 1867 the first of these reservations was established by treaty with the Sac and Foxes.

Since my friendship with the Sac and Foxes began in 1889, I shall trace some of their history which has resulted in their being

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*The author wishes to express appreciation to Robert H. Miller, Bob Dupree, and Gerald Anderson, students in Oklahoma State University, for checking documents, preparing maps, and touring with him the site of the Sac and Fox Agency.

[1] Agt. Moses Neal to Com. Ind. Aff., Aug. 27, 1889, *Ind. Aff., 1889,* p. 200. An excellent study is Charles R. Green, *Early Days in Kansas in Keokuk's Time on the Kansas Reservation.*

recognized as a happy, educated, progressive people, adjusted to our modern way of life.

There have been many treaties and agreements (called agreements since 1871) between the Federal Government and the Sac and Foxes, but I refer only to the treaties of 1842, 1860, 1867, and the agreement of 1890, for two reasons: [2] (1) Those dates span most of the life of Chief Moses Keokuk, whom I knew from 1889 until his death in 1903. I have assumed that he was about eighty-two years old when he died, which would make his birth about 1821. Thus he would have been twenty-one years old when the 1842 treaty was signed, and it was signed by Keokuk Jr. (2) If Keokuk Jr. and Moses Keokuk were the same person (as they surely must have been), he signed the tribal documents, including the last one made before his death, as a leader of his tribe. Moses Keokuk became head Chief in 1848 at the death of his father, continuing until Mac-cus-sa-tot became head Chief, before the agreement of 1890, which Moses Keokuk signed as second chief. His father, Chief Keokuk arose as a leader among the Sauk in 1813, and was finally made head Chief a few years before his death though he never was accepted by the Foxes. Thus, the lives of the father and the son spanned a period of ninety years of leadership in the Sac and Foxes tribe. Chief Keokuk, the son, was converted to Christianity in 1876, and who knows, at his conversion and baptism, he may have been named Moses to indicate his leadership. I knew him as a highly respected member of "The Only Way" Church.

The treaty of 1842 was signed in the Territory of Iowa. It provided that the confederated tribe of the Sacs and Foxes cede all lands west of the Mississippi River that they had any claim or title to, or had any interest whatever in, to the United States forever, reserving the right to occupy for three years, the land so ceded, "west of a line running due north and south from the Painted or Red rocks on the White Breast fork of the Des Moines River." That "the United States agree to pay annually to the Sac and Fox an interest of five per cent upon the sum of $800,000.00 and to pay their debts mentioned in the schedule annexed." The schedule lists 46 creditors to whom the tribe owed a total of $258.566.34. The smallest item was $6.50 owed to a Mr. Koontz and the largest item was $122,109.47 owed to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co. of St. Louis, Missouri.

The tribe also owed $66,371.83 to a firm in Indiana, and $52,-322.78 to a firm in Iowa. (Had Dunn & Bradstreet been in

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[2] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* Vol. 2, gives all treaties with the Sauk and the Foxes, ratified by the U. S. Senate. The story of the conversion of Moses Keokuk to Christianity is given by William T. Hagan in *The Sac and Fox Indians* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1958). Read *Civilization* by Thomas W. Alford, as told to Florence Drake (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1936).

(Photo loaned by Rev. R. D. Ragland)

"ONLY WAY CHURCH"
Built at the Sac and Fox Agency about 1885

business then, they surely would have shown the Sacs and Foxes with an A-1 credit rating.) I call attention to one item on the list—$885.00 owed to Julia Ann Goodell—whose family shows up with the tribe later in Kansas and still later at the Agency in Indian Territory. My father, Richard S. House, and I boarded in 1889 at the Ike Goodell Boarding House, where I first ate home-canned pickled peaches. I was ten years old. Mrs. Goodell was a wonderful cook.

The treaty of 1842, says further: "The President will as soon . . . as may be convenient, assign a tract of land . . . to the Sacs and Foxes for a permanent and perpetual residence for them and their decendants, which tract of land shall be on the Missouri River, or some of its waters." This treaty was signed by 22 Sacs and 22 Foxes, the Sacs signing first. Keokuk, and Keokuk, Jr., were the first Sacs to sign. The 14th Sac to sign was Pah-she-pa-ho (Pay-she-paw-haw), whom I knew in Indian Territory in the early nineties. He was an objector to allotment in severalty when the tribe moved from Kansas to Indian Territory.[3]

The treaty of 1860 was signed in the Territory of Kansas. It begins as follows:

> The Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi having now more lands than are necessary for their occupancy and use, and being desirous of promoting settled habits of industry and enterprise amongst themselves by abolishing the tenure in common, by which they now hold their lands, and by assigning limited quantities thereof, in severalty, to the individual members of the tribe, to be cultivated and improved for their individual use and benefit.

Provision was then made for surveying Sac and Fox reservation into two tracts—one about 12 miles wide and 20 miles long, containing about 153,600 acres, to be kept for the tribe and allocated in severalty with a quarter section appropriated for a home for the Agent, and a quarter section set apart "for the establishment and support of a school for the education of the youth of the tribe." The other tract of about 86,400 acres of surplus land was to be sold in 160-acre tracts to the highest bidders for cash. Provision also was made that no white persons (other than government employees) could live on the reservation, and that whites had to have permission from the Agent to enter upon the reservation.

Now that they were located on their individual lands, provisions were made to build houses, furnish farm implements, stock animals, and other necessities for beginning agricultural pursuits. The treaty of 1860 was signed by Alfred B. Greenwood, U. S. Commissioner, and 6 Sacs and 3 Foxes. Keokuk again was the first signer, and Che-kus-kuk signed as one of the Foxes. Later, in Indian Territory in the nineties, Keokuk "ran" a large general

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[3] Agt. Samuel L. Patrick to Com. Ind. Aff., July 1, 1891, *Ind. Aff., 1891* p. 362.

store and Ben Greenwood, a son of Alfred B., worked in it; Che-kus-kuk lived in a log cabin about two miles south of the Agency; my father was blacksmith for the tribe; and as stated above, I was janitor at the "Only Way" church.

The treaty signed February 18, 1867, by 5 Sac and Fox chiefs provided for the sale to the United States, of the "unsold portion of their diminished reserve defined in the first article of their treaty ratified July 9, 1860, the said tract containing about 86,400 acres." Provision also was made for the sale of the unsold portion of their old reservation. The two areas contained about 157,000 acres. The United States agreed to pay the accumulated debts of the Sac and Fox, which on November 1, 1865, amounted to $26,574.00, besides the interest and to pay $1.00 per acre for the ceded land. After deducting the amount paid for debts and the sums expended for the removal of the tribe to their new reservation, and subsistence until established, the amount remaining "shall be added to their investment funds, and five per cent interest paid thereon, in the same manner as the interest of their present funds is now paid." The treaty does not specify the "amount remaining." But it provided annually $5,000.00 for the support of the tribal government, out of which each chief should be paid $500.00 per annum, and further states:

> The United States agree, in consideration of the improvements upon the reservation, to give to the Sacs and Foxes for their future home, a tract of land in the Indian country south of Kansas and south of the Cherokee lands, not exceeding 750 square miles in extent . . . In order to promote the civilization of the tribe, one section of land . . . shall be selected by said Agent, . . . for a manual-labor school, and there shall also be set apart . . . $10,000.00 for the erection of the necessary school buildings and dwelling for teacher, and the annual amount of $5,000.00 . . . for the support of the school.

Articles 11, 12, and 13 of the 1867 treaty and several other expressions throughout the treaties are samples of the spirit of the tribe and show the point they had reached in their adoption of a new life. To express appreciation for the friendship and assistance given the tribe by friendly whites and mixed-bloods, they gave lands from their Kansas reservation, to the following people: "John Goodell, interpreter, 320 acres; Sarah A. Whistler, 320 acres; Amelia Mitchell, 320 acres and the house thereon; Julia A. Goodell, 168 acres and her house; Mary A. Means, 160 acres and her improvements. (Later "Aunt Mary Means" became the last wife of Moses Keokuk, when I knew them in the nineties.) Jim Thorpe's parents, James and Virginia, received 80 acres, and so did Thomas J. and Mamie Miles, and Emma and Hannie Keokuk. Leo (Sarah's son) and Gertrude Whistler received 320 acres each; Man-a-tah, Pah-me-che-kaw-paw, Henry Jones, Wilson McKinney, and Carrie Capper, each received 160 acres; George Powers, government interpreter, 320 acres; and Samuel

CHIEF MOSES KEOKUK AND WIFE, MARY MEANS KEOKUK

Black for protecting their houses and timber from trespass, 80 acres; but no choice of land should include the Agency, Mission, or Mill buildings".[4]

The treaty of 1867 was signed by Chiefs Keokuk, Che-kus-kuk, Mut-tut-tah, Uc-quah-ho-ko, and Man-ah-to-wah, and witnessed by Antoine Gokey, William Whistler and others, while the tribe was living on their reservation about 25 miles south of Topeka and 20 miles west of Ottawa, Kansas. The distance to their future home in the Indian country was about 180 miles. Their migration, begun in 1867, was extended over several years, because some of the tribe did not want to leave Kansas, some did not like the new location, and others under the leadership of Chief Mo-ko-ho-ko, resisted Federal control, and allotment in severalty, and became vagrants in Kansas, and were forcibly removed to Indian Territory in 1886.

The move to Indian Territory was profitable for the Sac and Foxes for they were leaving an area of intruding whites and going to a beautiful, open country with many advantages. The new reservation was about fifteen miles wide located just west of the Creek Nation, between the Cimarron and North Canadian rivers in the Indian Territory. In 1870, Superintendent Enoch Hoag described it as "a beautiful tract of 480,000 acres, well supplied with clear, living streams of water, rich and productive lands, diversified with prairie and undulating woodlands covered with valuable timber, in which roams an abundance of deer, turkeys and other wild game."

The new Sac and Fox Agency was located in the big bend of Deep Fork River. Later, when the land was surveyed into sections by Lt. Ehud Noble Darling in 1872, the Agency was found

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[4] When the tribe moved south from Kansas, they settled in two different areas. One group located near Keokuk Falls, Econtuchka, and Shawnee-town, near the North Canadian River. They were tall and slim and mostly Foxes. Tus-se-haw, a tall, clean, reticent old man, the last I knew of his generation, died in 1958.

The other group settled on Euchee Creek, southeast of Cushing. They were shorter and generally very fat, and were referred to as the Kansas Sauks. The remnants of Chief Mo-ko-ho-co's band of about 200, who would not leave Kansas in 1869, were escorted by the U. S. Cavalry in 1886, to the reservation located at Euchee Creek. In 1890 many members of this settlement died from a smallpox epidemic. Mo-ko-ho-co's successor was Pah-she-pa-ho. He opposed allotment in severalty, but surrendered his views when the 1890 agreement was made, and stood aside till all of his band had chosen their allotments, before he chose his.—Patrick to Com. Ind. Aff., July 1, 1891, *loc. cit.*

In a case before the Indian Claims Commission in 1964, an award of $1,500,000 was made to the Sacs and Foxes of Oklahoma, Iowa and Missouri, as additional compensation for lands in western Iowa and Northwestern Missouri. Tribal obligations reduced the amount to about $500,000. About 1,850 Sac and Fox Indians in Oklahoma were entitled to participate in the award.—*Daily Oklahoman,* April 20, 1964.

to be on the SE¼ of Sec. 21, T. 14 N, Range 6 E. Henry C. F. Hackbush surveyed the land into 40 acre tracts. Prior to our arrival in Sapulpa in 1889, the Frisco railroad had been built into "Tulseytown" in 1882, extended into Red Fork in 1885, and into Sapulpa in 1886. Later it was built through Stroud during the winter of 1897, to Chandler in March, 1898, and to Oklahoma City in December, 1898. When the road approached Stroud in 1897, that village moved two miles from its location on the hill, southeast to meet the railroad at a point six miles north of the Agency.[5]

In 1889, a score of years after the tribe moved to their new Agency, our family arrived there. We found in the village thirty buildings, not counting horse barns. Father came down July 1, to determine the living changes to which we would have to adjust, and went back to sell our little home in Ottawa, Kansas, and pack our few possessions for moving by slow freight train to Sapulpa, where our possessions were transferred to wagons. Three days were required for the wagons to cover the fifty five miles to the Agency. Father and I rode over on the stage in one day and arrived at dusk October 17, 1889. A month later mother and my two sisters arrived, and our family's legal residence has been within seventy-five miles of the Agency ever since. The buildings at the Agency when we arrived included 6 old log cabins, 1 new log calaboose, 4 large brick buildings, 11 frame homes, 1 church, 1 council-house, 2 oak stockade homes, 1 commissary, 2 frame store buildings, and 1 large blacksmith shop.

The old log cabins were still in use—three as homes for Indian Police, one as the home of the Indian preacher, one as a storeroom and one as a barn. The cabins had been built to house the first workmen who erected the first buildings at the Agency. These included a sawmill, four brick buildings, and two frame homes, one for John Whistler and one for George Powers. Powers had a two-story house, home above and store below. Somewhere in the vicinity a brick kiln was built to burn the bricks for the Mission buildings, and two large two-story houses, one for the Agent and one for the tribal chief on Ranch Creek just northwest of the Agency. The Agent's home had four large rooms and a wide hall on each floor, but the chief's home had only two large rooms on each floor with a steep stairway between.[5a]

The large three-story brick building at the Mission had a girl's dormitory on the east end of the second and third floors,

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[5] L. W. Menk, Traffic Dep't., Frisco Ry., St. Louis, Mo., to R. M. House, Dec. 10, 1964.

[5a] This two-story house of brick, built for the chief at the Sac and Fox Agency, generally referred to as Chief Moses Keokuk's old home, is still standing (in NE¼ of Sec. 18, T. 14 N., R. 6 E.) two miles west of the Agency site.

and a boy's dorm on the west end of the same floors, with rooms for women employees, a cook, seamstress, matron, laundress, and resident teachers between the dorms; the Superintendent's quarters and a parlor on the second floor; and kitchen, dining room and farm teachers quarters on the first floor. A brick school building about 30 by 50 feet was built nearby on the east, and filled with double school desks. A large frame building for laundry, storeroom and tools, was built just north of the kitchen.

The building which attracted my attention most was the enormous barn, because I was totally unaccustomed to barns. It probably was 40 by 60 feet, three stories high, with a mansard roof, built with native oak and sycamore lumber. In one corner were living quarters for the hostler who cared for eight or ten work horses and riding ponies, including two big Percheron teams; he also cared for a dozen Jersey milk cows, all needed for the Mission family. The interior frame-work of the barn was made of large sycamore beams twelve inches square by about 30 feet in length, mortised and held in place by wooden dowel pins. We boys spent many wonderful hours crawling and walking on those beams in that monstrous haymow playing "follow the leader", and in bad weather, building our "figure four" birdtraps in the big, cozy harness-room.

In former years a few Sac and Fox youths attended school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and later while living in Kansas, they attended Haskell Institute, at Lawrence, Kansas. After the Mission was built at Sac and Fox Agency, Indian Territory, the more advanced pupils went to Chilocco, just south of Arkansas City, Kansas. Agent Colonel S. L. Patrick, in 1890, reported there were 88 Sac and Fox males and 74 females of school age in the tribe and that the average daily attendance the past year was 40, the school being filled to its utmost capacity. In 1893 the school attendance averaged about 90, and Colonel Patrick reported an excellent reservation boarding school "fairly well equipped with buildings all in good condition . . . located at the Agency, with ample accommodations for from 100 to 120 pupils."[6]

The sawmill which was built when the tribe first arrived, was located on a small creek with "homemade" pond. Keokuk built his rambling, one-story, last home closeby. Near it he built a small two-story store building, with a tiny room downstairs for

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[6] According to the annual report of Agent Patrick in 1890, the tribal population was 545. In 1893 he reported a population of 527. Agent Patrick did not mention the smallpox epidemic, but figures he gave are evidence of the loss caused by the epidemic among the Kansas Sauks in the winter of 1890-91. In none of his four annual reports did he record the number of children under school age.

a 4th class post office, and with sleeping rooms up-stairs. The stage-hack which arrived at dusk each evening from Sapulpa, stopped at this store to deliver mail and passengers.[7]

After the Mission buildings were provided for, the mill sawed out the dimension lumber for about a dozen other buildings. The largest of these, a one-story building about 30 by 120 feet, was a commissary, built entirely of oak, for use as a store-house for all kinds of food, clothing for school children, boots and shoes, school supplies, bedding, medicines, wagons, harness, tools for employees, saddles and bridles, ammunition for Indian Police, blacksmith coal, wagon parts, nails, screws and bolts, cloth, ribbons, yarn and thread and everything else needed to fill all treaty obligations to the tribe and for all needs of the Mission and Agency. Thoughout the year except during the winter, groups of two or more wagon-loads of freight would frequently arrive from railroad points 60 miles away, to replenish the commissary stocks, so constantly being drawn upon for Agency, Mission or tribal needs. Freighters traveled in groups for protection from robbers.

The other buildings erected were homes for government employees: farmer, blacksmith, physician, agent's clerks, Indian Police and Licensed Indian-Traders who "ran" a general store carrying all kinds of supplies needed by travelers, the villagers, or "extras" desired by the tribe. Also there were several "mixed-blood" families who had moved to the Agency, having abandoned the life of the wigwam and barkhouse, for the "white man's way of life." Their homes were finished outside with pine and covered with pine shingles. Log cabins only were covered with clapboards. When we arrived in 1889, the buildings erected in the seventies were badly in need of repairs and paint, some indicating heavy termite damage. The old sawmill, except the floor of one room, was a complete ruin. However, three two-story and two one-story homes and the "little church" built in the early eighties, were in fine condition with good paint.

A change of national presidents in those days, meant a change of employees at the Agency. During President Cleveland's first term Moses Neal was Agent; Ike Goodell was farmer; Dr. Link

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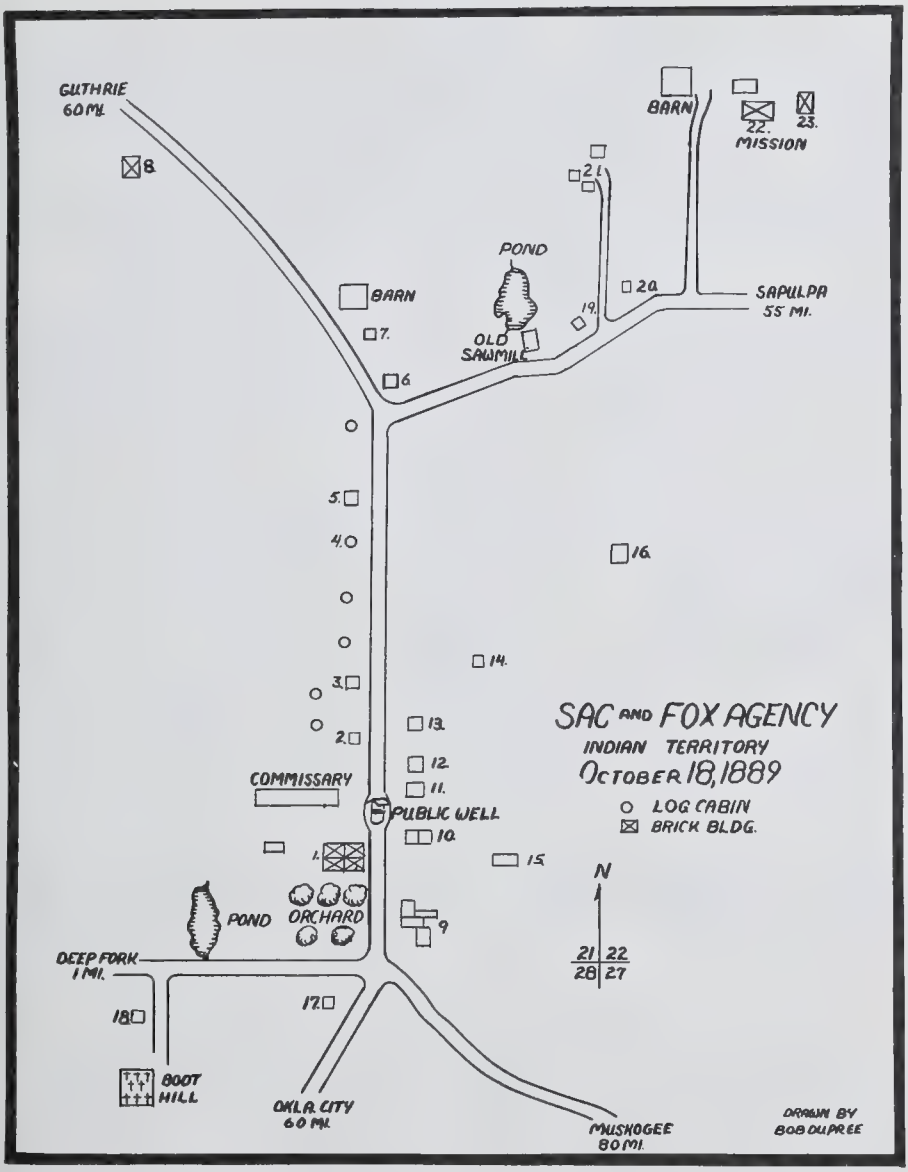
[7] Father and I unloaded from the stage-hack in front of this building at dusk, October 17, 1889. There I met my first Indian, Johnny Kay (short for Keokuk), grandson of Chief Moses Keokuk, a ten-year old boy, just as curious to see what was coming in, as I was to see what I was getting into. He asked my name and I said, "Morton House." He then nicknamed me "Mo-ko-mon-e We-kay-op," which is Sac and Fox for Whiteman House. Thereafter that was my Indian name at the Mission and with all the Indians that knew me.



SAC AND FOX AGENCY, 1889 MAP

1. Agent's home and barn.
2. Blacksmith's home.
3. Physician's home.
4. Rev. Wm. Hurr's home.
5. "The Only Way" Church.
6. Keokuk's original store.
7. Keokuk's home and barns.
8. Keokuk's brick ranch house.
9. Licensed Trader's store & home.
10. Agent's office & Council House.
11. Goodell's Boarding House.
12. Vocational Farmer's home.
13. Captain Indian Police's home
14. Calaboose.
15. Tribal blacksmith shop.
16. Isaac McCoy's two-story home.
17. Leo Whistler's home.
18. Laura Keokuk's home.
19. George Power's home.
20. Fred Kirtley's home.
21. Fannie Whistler's home & barns.
22. Mission Boarding School.
23. Mission Brick Schoolhouse.

was Physician; James H. Fulwider was blacksmith;[8] and Lewis and Pickett were licensed Indian Traders. When President Benjamin Harrison took office, Colonel S. L. Patrick, a Union Veteran of Ottawa, Kansas, was appointed Sac and Fox Agent. He chose my father and Frank Graff, both of Ottawa, to be his blacksmith and farmer; Dr. J. C. Sutton of Chicago was appointed physician, and Hoffman, Charles and Conklin, (Pete, J. B., and E. L.) became Licensed Indian Traders.

All these people had families of from three to five each. "Mixed-bloods" and fullbloods living at the Agency when we arrived, included such family names as Keokuk, Whistler, Kirtley, Greyeyes, Talbert White, Chris Wind, Tom Pott, Tom Miles, Shell King, Alex Connally, Walter Battice, William Hurr, and others, totalling over 100 population. (My memory tells me that the census of 1890 gave the Agency a population of 116.) That number was village population, independent of the tribal enrollment out on the reservation. The last man named above was known and revered by everybody on the reservation as "Uncle Billy" Hurr. He was a full-blood Ottawa (tribe not town) Indian. He with his family lived in the large log house adjacent to the little "Only Way" Baptist Church, and had been the only resident. He had been the preacher for that church since before 1885, and still was for the four years that we lived at the Agency. The "little church organization" is the same one now located thirteen miles north of Stroud, Oklahoma.

From Sapulpa a stage hack carried passengers and mail to the Agency, six days each week arriving about 7:30 p.m., if not prohibited by high water or other problems. A similar hack carried passengers and mail in the opposite direction to Sapulpa on a like schedule. Horses were changed twice en route on the 14-

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[8] *The Federal Register of Employees for 1885,* records the name of James H. "Tulwider" as blacksmith for the Sac and Fox Indians. That is an error. His name was Fulwider. Research uncovered the following historical gem: Fulwider was born March 13, 1850, and was Sax and Fox blacksmith from 1882 to 1889. He died Dec. 10, 1935, in Oklahoma City and was buried at Perkins, Oklahoma. Julia Ann Thompson was born October 20, 1854, was a teacher from Emporia, Kansas, at Shawnee for two years, 1883-1885, and died in Stillwater, Feb. 9, 1928, and was buried at Perkins. Miss Thompson and Fulwider were married July 18, 1885, by "Uncle Billy" Hurr, in the "Only Way" Baptist Church at the Sac and Fox Agency. Christopher Wind, a Sac and Fox policeman, signed as a witness. Christopher's wife was a teacher at the Mission. Fulwider homesteaded in the "run" of 1889 on the NW¼ of Sec. 7, T. 17 N., R. 3 E. Fulwider data is corroborated by their marriage license, homestead patent, obituaries, and by the *Perkins Journal.*

R. S. House was born February 2, 1851, and was Sac and Fox blacksmith from July 1, 1889, to July 1, 1893, and died October 20, 1919. He homesteaded in the "run" of 1891, on the NW¼ of Sec. 14-T14N-R.6E. Mrs. Lena M. (Fulwider) Cottongim and I, both of Stillwater, enjoy discussing those times when our fathers and I, spent the years, 1882-93 in the Sac and Fox blacksmith shop.

hour trip. Thus to keep the stage line and mail service running, it was necessary to have, in constant use, two hacks, two drivers, twelve horses, four stable boys to care for the teams, four kitchens and four cooks and their helpers to supply meals, four places to sleep, and food for all the horses and people. Because of the demands of such a constant and grinding schedule, many extra horses had to be kept in good condition to be used as substitutes, for crippled or worn out horses, at all four stations. The number of passengers, the amount and weight of baggage and variation of weather, necessitated the use of several hacks of different weights, number of seats and capacities for baggage. Sick drivers, stableboys, cooks, wornout horses, or broken down hacks required extra workmen, and equipment. A contract for carrying the mail on the frontier was a formidable undertaking.

Although snowstorms and blizzards would not stop the mail service, they would cause much longer time en route. Annually, however, the "rainy season" would cause the complete non-delivery of mail for several days, and sometimes weeks, because of the many creeks en route, without a single bridge or culvert. The following streams between Sapulpa and the Agency had to be forded twice each day, and some of them when normal, were formidable in width, depth, and steepness of banks: Polecat, Little Polecat, Rock Creek, Big Sandy, Little Sandy, Little Catfish, Big Catfish, Little Salt, Big Salt, Deep Fork, and others I have forgotten. When these streams overflowed, miles of road would become impassable and we agency people would do without mail. Never heard then of a daily paper, and we had no telephone line to Sapulpa. Later we got a single telephone line strung from Guthrie, and one phone which was located in the Agent's office.

But really, everybody at the Agency was living high those days. Father's salary was $700.00 per year. We paid no rent, taxes, or utility bills. We paid no interest on debts—we had no debts. Every family had one or more cows (not cars) and several hogs. Plenty of unfenced pasture where our stock ran free. Butchered our own meat. All the rich garden ground we could care for. Canned our own vegetables and berries, and fruit from bountiful orchards which never needed spraying for bugs. There was a ten-acre wild strawberry patch two miles from town which fed everybody in season; there were small wild black "possum" grapes and large "sand-hill" grapes, hickory nuts, walnuts, pecans, persimmons, sand plums, elderberries, red haws, black haws, and blackberries by the tubfuls, brought in by the Euchee Indians, for ten cents a quart (real quarts). There was an abundance of quail, turkey, prairie chicken, snipe, plover, dove, duck, geese, and deer. One could fish any time, anywhere, catch any size, any number, with a trammel net, and without a license. Red

squirrels, grey squirrels, three kinds of rabbits, possums, coons, dogs, and other good things to delight the hunter, could be had, without any hunting laws, seasons, or wardens to molest one.[9]

For more than two years I was the only white boy living at a home between Sapulpa and DeWeese's store, (now Wellston) 80 miles apart. What pleasures did we have? We lived by the Golden Rule and everybody was happy. We rode horseback, hunted, fished, picknicked, swam, had group singing around the old organs, and played croquet on smooth grassy grounds till late at night. We played town-ball, chess and checkers, pitched horseshoes and had target practice, with both firearms and bows and arrows. Those not enjoying these things, played cards. In our

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[9] We have come so far from pioneer days that most young people and many adults have never seen a hog butchered. We had no refrigerators those days, so we waited till cold days came to stay. Early in the morning of butchering day, a large iron kettle over an outside fire, filled with 30 or 40 gallons of scalding water would be emptied into a large barrel set diagonally in a hole in the ground. Then two men would slide the killed hog in and out of the scalding water to prepare it for shaving, or scraping off, all the hair and dirt. Then the carcass was washed, disemboweled, thoroughly washed again and dismembered. The Indians butchered their dogs in the same manner.

My first experience with dogs as food, occurred one morning in May, 1890, just after my eleventh birthday. The Sac and Foxes were holding a Medicine Dance three miles southwest of the Agency. The celebration lasted about two weeks, and it was the time of full moon. The weird sound, new to us, of the "tom tom" drums, and sometimes the chant they sang, could be heard for many, many, miles, far into the night. There was no sign or sound anywhere of civilization, only primitive Indian country and its sounds. It was wonderful!

The Indian camp was near a large creek, where in wet weather, there was a waterfall but in dry weather, a large clean flat rock extended out over a pool below. Our family was there getting acquainted with the Indians and enjoying the strange sights and sounds, when I discovered several squaws butchering dogs. The hot day did not matter because the dog meat was eaten without delay at such feasts. The dogs were nice and fat because they had nothing to do but grow up and eat and lie around the camp. They were not hunting dogs, they were too fat to hunt. Instead of using a barrel to scald in, a squaw would simply take up a dead dog and dip it into the pot of scalding water (like we scald a chicken before picking it), and scrape it clean of hair and dirt, then wash it clean with scalding water, disembowel it, and proceed to cut it into parts, just as we cut up a chicken, rabbit, or lamb. Squaws had no stoves or ovens, so boiling was the usual method of cooking. They did not season with salt and pepper as we do. We sat crosslegged on the ground and ate out of small bowls served with a common ladle from the big iron pot on the fire. Twice later I had the pleasure of being a guest at a similar feast, once between Belmont and Econtuchka near the North Canadian, and once between Milfay and Robertsburg near Deep Fork, a few years before World War I. At the agency, possum and coon were considered delicacies when properly prepared. Today people from over the nation come to Okeene, Oklahoma, to hunt and eat rattlesnakes. For another account of "dog soup", see J. Y. Bryce, "Some Experiences in the Sac and Fox Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, No. 4 (Dec., 1926), pp. 307-311.

homes we read the *Youth's Companion, Harper's Weekly, Ladies Home Journal, Christian Herald, Weekly Globe Democrat, David Copperfield, Ben Hur, Last Days of Pompeii, Les Miserables, David Harem, Last of the Mohicans, American History, The Story of the Bible,* and other good books.

Because of a previous lack of interested workers, there was no Sunday School, so we organized one, in the little "Only Way" Church. It was a Union Sunday School, using David C. Cook literature. Father was superintendent, mother was secretary, my sister, Ruth, was organist, and I was janitor. The town in southern Illinois, where all our family was born, made our Sunday School a present of a new organ, which cost $55.00 f.o.b., St. Louis. This was in November, 1889, and we spent four wonderful years with the people of our little village, worshiping in that church. The children on the hill at the Mission—how they did enjoy getting all scrubbed up and into their clean, bright clothes to march nearly a mile, with Mission employees alongside as chaperones, down to the church every Sunday morning! They filled all those pews and chairs which I had so carefully dusted the day before. I enjoyed the Saturday afternoon chore at the church, and kept the windows shining clean and the coal-oil lamp chimmeys spotless, with the corners of the wicks properly trimmed so the chimneys would not be smoked black. And how important it was to ring the church bell at exactly the correct time for each meeting—sometimes it would lift me off my feet on the upstroke! It was difficult to toll the bell for a funeral—it had to be done by using another small rope attached to the clapper.[10]

Some of the young men both mixed and fullblood, would come in from the reservation when a special service was being held in the church, because they enjoyed the organ and the singing of those old hymns in *Gospel-Hymns No.* 4, and some even joined with us in the singing. I shall never forget Talbert White, a fine looking young Sac and Fox mixed-blood about twenty-five years

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10 Many years have passed since I heard a bell tolled at a funeral. Neither have I seen an old-fashioned coffin for years. At the Sac and Fox Agency, undertakers and embalming were unknown, and ice was not to be had. Coffins were homemade, and were shaped wide for the shoulders and tapered narrower at both ends. I never have understood why that shaped coffin looks so much scarier than the modern casket. Having no one else available, the community came to my father, and his woodwork shop when in need of a coffin. Father would make coffins of rough pine lumber and I would trim them. They were covered outside with black sateen stretched tightly and tacked so the tacks would not show. Inside they were lined with white muslin, the bottom being padded slightly with excelsior. All around the top edge was a small tight roll of excelsior covered with embroidery with points hanging downward; we procured oramental plates, handles, and closing screws from Quincy Casket Co., Quincy, Illinois. I never overcame my dislike for the weird sound made by hammering tacks inside a coffin.

of age, who frequently came and sang such beautiful tenor. His favorite song was "Jesus Paid It All." Often he could be heard singing it on the street.[11] Also Billy Greyeyes sang well. He drank much when we first lived there, but later he became a fine young Baptist preacher, and even wrote a book, which I read just before World War I.

After Sunday School, the Mission children would form double file and march back to the Mission for dinner. I would ring the bell to announce that it was time for church and we youngsters would mix with the oldsters in the choir corner and enjoy the music, and sometimes Talbert would be with us.

Chief Moses Keokuk, a fine Christian Saulk Indian, could always be found on a Sunday morning, on the front seat of "the little church," and the Reverend Hurr would always call on him for the opening prayer. I do not mean to be sacrilegious in reporting that the Chief was about six feet three inches tall, weighing about 275 pounds, with lots of that weight out in front of him, and he always would stand up with his hands clasped high on his chest, and looking up high with his eyes wide open, would always say these exact words: "Oh-kno-eth phemi-cary-un green che-ez eh-so-na-so-na key-oche." I never learned the English for it, but I am sure that he was talking straight to the Great Spirit and was being heard. Then he would continue with a prayer in the Sauk language for the Chief could not speak English. It was an impressive experience for me, a white boy only ten and eleven years old.

The Christmas programs in the "little church" with the trees and presents and sacks of fruit and candy, with those wonderful Indian children, were events never to be forgotten. Our kind of Christmas was entirely new to them. When they marched around the candle-lighted tree on the way out of the crowded church, each received a large mosquito-netting bag filled with a big orange,

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[11] Talbert White may have been a product of Haskell, or even of regular white Kansas schools for he was almost white, both in color and speech. Not only was his tenor noticeable in church, but while walking along the street, day or night, always it seemed he would be heard singing, in his beautiful tenor voice, the soprano of his favorite song:

I hear the Savior say,
"Thy strength indeed is small,
Child of weakness, watch and pray,
Find in Me, thine 'All in All'."

Cho.

Jesus paid it all,
All to Him I owe,
Sin had left a crimson stain
He washed it white as snow!

—and how he would bear down on that chorus! It thrills me just to imagine I hear him now.

HOME OF CHIEF MOSES KEOKUK
Sac and Fox Agency, in 1890's

a large red apple, a bigger pop-corn ball, five sticks of chewing gum, and lots of candy. It did wonders to us when we saw how happy they were. Their eyes sparkled, their faces beamed, and they jabbered in Sac and Fox and giggled and squeaked, for those great big oranges were a novelty then in the Indian country.

Because there were no other schools in that country, we children of government employees were allowed to attend the Mission school and its routine just as if we belonged, and thus I lived four never-to-be-forgotten years with those fine Sac and Fox children and their parents, in their activities at the Mission and at the "Only Way" Baptist Church.

Among my childhood friends of seventy-five years ago I remember Leo Gokey, Clarence Ke-wah-tuck, Lettie Connally, Jennie Bigwalker, Laura Buffalohorn, Lena and Hazel Kirtley, Dan, Rhoda, and Pauline McCoy, Moses Mac-cus-sa-toe, Richard Duncan, Johnny Kay (short for Keokuk), Jimmy White, Edna Trift, Guy Whistler, Molly Ke-wah-tusk, Alex Jefferson, Aaron McKinney, Bettie Rienza, and Edwin Moore, Levi and William Jones, and Jim Thorpe's brothers and sisters. The things I remember most about them, and those whose names I have forgotten, are that they were clean of speech and had clean minds. We kids those days did not use filthy language or tell dirty stories, nor did many adults. I can truthfully say that the Indians cannot be blamed for the contamination of the morals of this country that we have taken from them.

Many times since my father passed away, nearly fifty years ago, I have expressed gratitude for his having brought us to Indian Territory, away from the contaminating influences of city immorality, into the clean atmosphere and associations of the undefiled natives of the pioneer country. Those school-day friends of mine, and our children and grandchildren, will never lose the benefits derived from our association with "Uncle Billy" Hurr and Moses Keokuk and the little "Only Way" Church at the Agency, before the Sac and Fox reservations was taken over and spoiled by the white man.

On September 22, 1891, the reservation was opened to the public and slowly the country began to fill with homes. A few sod houses, fewer one-room box houses and many log cabins became filled with families too poor to afford better houses in which to live. People began to mingle with us at the store and post office, which had been moved from Keokuk's old store to the supervision of Hoffman, Charles and Conklin, where it was housed in a room about 6 by 10 feet in size, in the front of their store. Some newcomers would come to church when they heard the bell announcing meetings, and take part in programs, both on Sundays and during the week. There were no denominational

lines and the people were thankful for the opportunity to worship on Sundays as they had done in the homes they had left behind them.

An event that occurred in the church before we all became scattered, was the first Thanksgiving Day Service held in the new country, after it was opened to settlement. Thanksgiving that year was November 26, two months after the opening. Some families had observed Thanksgiving privately in their homes each year, but no community service had been held. Now we were a part of the United States and we decided to act as such. The program for the service appeared in *The Chandler News,* Chandler, Oklahoma, November 28, 1891, as follows:

Overture—	Miss Lena Grimm
"America"—	Mission Children
Greeting—	Mission Children
Song—"We Thank You"	
Mrs. Viola House, Mrs. J. E. Ross, Miss Hattie Patrick	
Reading of the Proclamation—	Prof. J. E. Ross
Recitation—"Thanksgiving"	Mission Children
Solo—"Raise Me Jesus"	Miss Cosette Stratton
Recitation—	Morton House
Recitation—	Seven Children
Song—"Rejoice And Be Glad"	
J. H. House, R. S. House, Lena Grimm, Harriet Patrick	
Address—	Rev. William Hurr
Address—	Chief Moses Keokuk
Song—"Bringing In The Sheaves"	Mission Children
Song—"Goodnight"	Choir

The church was packed full with our own people and many newcomers, and reverent overflow crowds were grouped around the door and windows. I should tell you who those people on the program were: Miss Lena Grimm was the secretary of the Licensed Indian Traders. Lena and her brothers, Phil and Al, came to the Agency early in 1890, from Wisconsin. Phil started a store in the Creek Nation on the road to Sapulpa and called it Phillipsburg. Lena married David G. Cheesman, head Clerk at the Agency. Al worked for Moses Keokuk in his large new store after the country was opened for settlement. Viola House was my mother, and James H. House was my uncle. J. E. Ross was Mission Superintendent, and of course Mrs. Ross was his wife. They were from Ottawa where he was formerly my grade-school principal. Harriet Patrick (Miss Hattie to me, for she was the most beloved teacher in my whole school life) was the only daughter of Agent S. L. Patrick.[12] She is the mother of Colonel Lee Gilstrap, of the Faculty of Oklahoma State University. Miss Cosette Stratton, secretary to the Agent, was a sister of Jeannette

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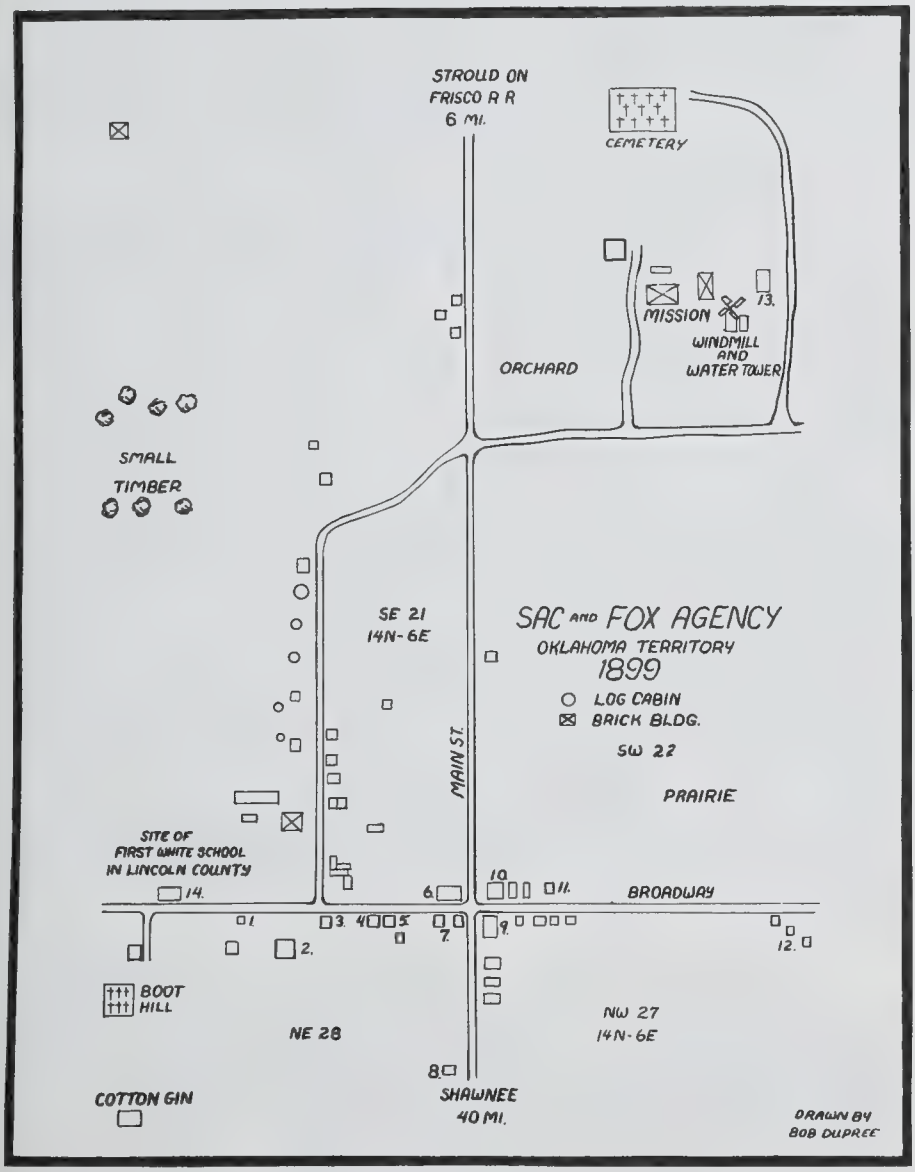
12 Harriet Patrick Gilstrap, "Memories of a Pioneer Teacher, *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1960), pp. 20-34; George W. Stiles, "Early Days in the Sac and Fox Country, Oklahoma Territory," *ibid,.* Vol. XXXIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1955), pp. 316-338.

Stratton-Porter Meehan, author of *Lady of Limberlost,* and other books. Miss Cosette married Lee Patrick, Agent Sam Patrick's only son, and she lives in California.

There is another period in the life of the Agency which should be mentioned. It is that time after the white folks filled up the reservation after the opening—let us think of it as the White Man's Agency. Remember, the Agency was located on the SE¼ of Sec. 21 with a north and south section line running along the east side, and an east and west section line running along the south side of the Agency quarter section. For clarity in this narrative, let us call the north and south line Main Street, and the east and west line Broadway. Ke-wah-tuck's 160-acre allotment was just south of Broadway and west of Main. Mary McCoy's allotment was just east of Main, with 80 acres south and 80 acres north of east Broadway.

Moses Keokuk's first store was a small, two-story, unpainted and poorly lightly building. In 1891 he built nearby between his home and the church, a large well designed store, and Fred Neal, Al Grimm and Ben Greenwood were on his payroll. In 1895, he moved the new store over to the northwest corner of the intersection of Main and Broadway facing east, but still on Agency land. During the long summers between the short school terms of District School in 1897 and 1898, I was a clerk in that store. About a year before Keokuk moved his store over to the new location, the Whistler family built a good sized building facing north, at the southeast corner of that intersection. The upper story of the Whistler building was used as a town hall, for traveling shows, speakers and celebrations.

As the country filled up, the south side of west Broadway became occupied with Leo Whistler's stockade grocery and Ed Conklin's large home. Mr. and Mrs. Conklin had three fine daughters, Estelle, Maude and Ione, and their home was a center of much entertainment, for they had many friends in Guthrie, Chandler, and Oklahoma City. Located east of the Conklin home were J. B. Moffitt's Drug Store, Bill Renfro's Barbershop, John Franklin's blacksmith shop and home, and Dr. Sutton's Dental Office. Located on the corner was a confectionery which sold milkshakes (a new drink then), and sodapop legally, and "chock" (a homemade intoxicant) illegally. On the south side of East Broadway, just east of Whistler's store, was a small restaurant and the homes of Ed Lash, James Allenbaugh and Tom Miles. A half-mile east on the hill, was the home of R. S. House, built after he sold his homestead to Mr. Massengale in 1895. On the north side of East Broadway, was R. S. House's blacksmith and woodwork shop built after he left the government service in 1893. East of the shop were Undertaker's Supplies and House & Lowery Farm Implements. Next was James Allenbaugh's Livery



SAC AND FOX AGENCY, 1899 MAP

1. Leo Whistler's stockade store.
2. Ed Conklin's large home.
3. Wycoff's Drug Store.
4. Bill Renfro's Barber Shop.
5. Franklin's blacksmith shop and home.
6. Keokuk's new store.
7. Dr. Sutton's Dental office.
8. Dr. Karskadon's home.
9. Whistler's store & hall.
10. R. S. House's shop and stores.
11. Allenbaugh's Livery Stable.
12. R. S. House's home & barn.
13. New girls' dorm & water tower.

Stable. On the west side of South Main, one hundred yards south of the intersection, was the home of Dr. Karskaddon, M. D. On the east side of south main, just south of Whistler's store, were the homes of Pauline Whistler House, James Connally and Sam Beaver. On the east side of North Main stood the large two-story home of the Reverend Isaac McCoy, about 200 yards north of the intersection.

John Arrowood built a sawmill about a mile west of Ed Conklin's house, and Hoffman, Charles and Conklin built a pond and cotton gin on the southwest corner of Ke-wah-tuck's allotment southwest of Conklin's home. All this growth on Main and Broadway in the "White Agency" after the opening, was in addition to the Indian Agency previously described, which was built on an unnamed street about 200 yards long north and south, parallel to Main, but located 200 yards west of Main.

All these people and their businesses kept the town alive for about twenty years, but as time progressed, the forces opposed to the survival of the Agency won the contest. The "Deep Fork Ditch" originally built to eliminate floods upstream, by straightening the riverbed, augmented the flood troubles near the Agency because the "ditch" ended near the east line of the reservation, only three miles from the Agency. Many acres of good bottom land became swamps, and farmers moved away. Although "Cotton was King", near-by towns with their gins and cottonseed oil-mills took more and more business from the Agency. So, Hoffman, Charles and Conklin closed down their gin and moved to Chandler and Stroud, and became bankers. Also many settlers moved to the approaching oil fields because more money could be made there.

Although the Government continued to appoint agents, Edward L. Thomas, Lee Patrick, Ross Guffin, W. C. Kohlenberg, and others supervised the Indians and their children, who were now fraternizing more with the whites and enrolling in white local schools to such an extent that it became necessary to discontinue the Mission Boarding School at the Agency. It therefore was abandoned in 1917. Other Oklahoma tribes had progressed in like manner, and the economy of centralization moved the Indian business of the Sac and Fox Agency, with that of other tribes to Shawnee. Thus, the Sac and Fox Indian Agency ceased to exist in 1919. Since then more centralization has moved Indian business to Anadarko, Oklahoma.

The final removal of all government employees and the loss of their business, and that of the Indian Agency business itself, together with the arrival of Henry Ford's internal combustion engine, which shortened the distances to larger surrounding towns, caused the disintegration of the "White Man's" Agency, and it

finally disappeared. Whistler's store burned, and a filling station facing west, was built with salvaged material. Whistler's old home with its horse barns disappeared, but Guy Whistler, the sole survivor, salvaged a smaller house and built his "Tee Pee" Restaurant nearby. Guy died about 1963. He was the last of my Indian playmates of those memorable years and I feel very much alone. The old J. B. Charles home, with its several buildings, was replaced by a small shack in which a small Indian family lived, when I last saw it in 1959, and the large brick home of the Agent and the Mission brick buildings were nothing but piles of brick rubble.

Back in 1892 a prairie fire almost destroyed the Agency. I remember it well, for I carried drinking water and wet sacks to fire fighters all that long day. The whole village fought fire on three sides of town from mid-morning till after dark. The Agency never had a water supply or pump, or water tower, only a dug public well in the center of the street, near the Council-house. No doubt fires have threatened the Agency many times since it became almost deserted. When occupied, grass would be kept short and trash would not be allowed to accumulate near a building, but when unoccupied, tall dry grass would cover the yards and pile up close to the empty buildings. The house that was our home for those four wonderful years was the only building remaining unscathed, when I was there in 1962. Even the old log-cabin storeroom and the other out-buildings were gone, but our house was still occupied by an Indian family. Its paint was gone but they had kept it from burning. I wish I had taken a picture of it then . . . it is gone now . . .and I am sad. There is nothing left . . . nothing but memories . . . but they are such pleasant memories! How fine it would be if we could go back and live it all again!

Before Guy Whistler died, he was influential in getting a commodious frame building erected near his old homeplace, to accommodate a Tribal Museum which, among many other things, contained many oil paintings of tribesmen and events dating back to the days of Black Hawk, Tecumseh, and Keokuk, Sr. The old brick house on Keokuk's ranch three miles northwest of the Agency, however, still dominates the surrounding area just as it did when it was built ninety-five years ago.[13]

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[13] Moses Keokuk and John Whistler maintained ranches about eighteen miles square. Leo Bowers, *"A History of the Sac and Fox Indians Until After the Opening of Their Reservation in Oklahoma."* M. A. Thesis (1940), Library, Oklahoma State University.

Whistler's ranch was south of the Agency, on the North Canadian, near Econtuchka. Keokuk's ranch was about three miles northwest of the Agency, on Ranch Creek. Keokuk's home was one of the original brick buildings erected in the early seventies. It is about 18 feet wide and 32 feet long, with walls 14 inches thick and ceilings 9 feet

This, then is the story of how two great American Indian tribes, the Sauk and the Foxes, confederated into the Sac and Fox tribe, and in 150 years progressed from savage "blanket Indians" owning land by "tenure in common" on reservations, without schools or churches or the English language, to become fully recognized as free and independent citizens of the United States, owning their own land in severalty and their homes as do their white neighbors. Now without "reservation" restrictions and surrounded by free schools and churches and all other "white advantages", these changes have been influenced by the lives of the Christianized Chief Moses Keokuk from 1842 to 1903, and the Indian preacher "Uncle Billy" Hurr, from before 1885 until his death, and by the influences emanating from the little "Only Way Church" from before 1885 until now. The lives of the amalgamated Sac and Fox people and their white relatives and friends are living proof that those influences are far-reaching and good.

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high. There are two rooms on each floor with centrally located stairway, with 16 well-worn solid oak steps. Some of the original "barn-red" paint remains on the high walnut door frames. This building is all that remains of the Agency which was "born" in 1869.

According to Indian custom, when Keokuk's second wife died in their early days at the Agency, Keokuk moved from the ranch home to a one-story frame home in the Agency proper. There he maintained a small general store and large barn well stocked with horses, cattle, and hogs. When the country opened for white settlement, a family named Royer homesteaded the 160 acres on which the ranch home stood. It is about five miles southwest of Stroud. During those early years, Mrs. Royer served as cook at the home of the Agent, and later as cook at the Mission school where her son, Grover Cleveland Royer, and I attended the school.

The "Only Way" church organization moved to a new location thirteen miles north of Stroud in 1913, taking the homemade pews, altar, and bell with them. The problem of moving the thirty-year-old building more than twenty miles over the roads of that day, across Deep Fork without a bridge, resulted in its abandonment, and a new building was erected, and dedicated, May 3, 1913. The bell was stolen in 1920 and never recovered.

Among friends of school days I remember Edna Thrift, a small, quiet, pleasant mannered, studious girl, well liked by all who knew her. So far as I know, she is the only one of my friends of those days still living. She is a member of the "Only Way" Baptist Church, and is the mother of Rev. Robert Fall, minister of the church. You can imagine my joy when Rev. Fall wrote me that his mother is that former schoolmate of mine, in those days when Walter Battice, Tom Miles, and Miss Hattie Patrick were our teachers at the Sac and Fox Mission Boarding School, from the fall of 1889 to the summer of 1893.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Tribute to Kitty M. Harvey

Our best wishes and deep appreciation go to Kitty M. Harvey who enjoys reading *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to this day. A pretty young woman, Mrs. Harvey came to Oklahoma City in 1890, with her husband, William L. Harvey and their son, Fred to live near the new town on the homestead owned by her husband's brother, David A. Harvey. Dave Harvey had staked the claim for his homestead in the first run for land in Oklahoma on April 22, 1889. He had enlisted at the age of sixteen in the 4th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry in the Union Army, served throughout the Civil War and was honorably discharged at its close. He studied law, and was a young attorney at Topeka, Kansas, when he joined David L. Payne's "boomers" for the opening of the "Oklahoma Country" to white settlement. He had been nominated by the Territorial Republican Committee and elected on November 4, 1890, as the first delegate to the U. S. Congress from Oklahoma Territory when Will and Kitty Harvey came to live in his new house on the farm while he was in Washington. "Memoirs of Oklahoma" by Kitty M. Harvey, appeared in *The Chronicles* in the spring of 1957 (Vol. XXXV), telling about her life in Oklahoma City. She also recounts her life in Chandler where her husband was appointed the first postmaster on September 21, 1891. She gives her experiences during the bank robbery there in 1894, and tells about the tornado that struck the town on March 30, 1897. The "Memoirs" were written by Mrs. Harvey in beautiful, clear handwriting at the age of ninety-five years. Ten years have passed since she wrote the manuscript of her "Memoirs" at her home in Minneapolis, Kansas, where she still lives at the age of 105 years. Possessed of all her faculties, she loves to read and is a joy to her many relatives. Recently, one of them, a great-nephew—Mr. Ral E. Davis—wrote for several copies of *The Chronicles* containing the "Memoirs of Oklahoma" written by his Great Aunt, Kitty M. Harvey, and ordered future numbers of the magazine sent her.

(M.H.W.)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Ranald S. Mackenzie on the Texas Frontier. By Ernest Wallace. (West Texas Museum Association, 1965. Maps, Illus. Pp. 214. No price given.)

Apparently the most thorough research was made before Dr. Wallace attempted to write the military exploits of General Mackenzie. His different expeditions are given in detail, mile by mile, with the weather, rations, terrain, personnel, supplies and equipment used, including horses, mules and wagons.

The story reveals Mackenzie (who did not become a general until his health had failed) as a "Fighting Colonel," who was looked upon by his superiors, Generals Sherman and Sheridan, as the best military leader to deal with the Plains Indians after the Civil War. Mackenzie had few battle engagements but he always created such conditions for the Indians that they had to concede to his directives. By the time they would lose their horses, food, tepee, robes, lodge poles and other necessities of life they were ready to return to the reservations and live until he was sent off to other fields. A few times, he had to come back and do the work all over again.

Mackenzie became so popular with the settlers of Kansas, New Mexico and Arizona that all of them wanted him especially assigned to guard their homes and lands against the marauders. President Grant asked a favor of President Chester A. Arthur to make Mackenzie a General even when the army quota was full.

After many years of privation, hard campaigns and an accident, Mackenzie became very ill and was declared insane and died two years later, at the age of forty-eight. This is an important book on Western Americana.

—Joe W. McBride

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castano da Sosa's Journal, 1590-1591. By Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson. (The School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1965. p. xi, 196. Maps, drawings, photos. No price given.)

Part of the fascination of Southwestern history is the personalities who made it. The region, from earliest European contact until the present day, has drawn to itself more persons of strong—and sometimes rugged—character than any other part of the United States. Gaspar Castano da Sosa was no exception.

He was a Portuguese, serving under the King of Spain at the time when Spain and Portugal were bitter enemies struggling for world conquest. He was a military man who set out to found a farming colony, without knowing whether the locale could be farmed or not. A soldier under orders, he became impatient with the deliberate ravelling of red tape, and began his journey without official sanction. His dream of colonization collapsed when he was arrested for going away without leave just when his colonists were ready to settle down.

The years between 1540, when Francisco Vasquez de Coronado entered New Mexico from the south, and 1600, when Juan de Onate established the first Spanish colony at Yuqueyunque, will always tantalize historians and anthropologists. We know that during that time there were expeditions into the territory north of Mexico proper. Some of them are documented. But the subtle changes in Indian cultures as described first by the explorer and later by the colonizer, prove that more Europeans entered the Southwest in those sixty years than the record will ever show.

The daily *Journal* of da Sosa's expedition probably was written by another member of his company. We do not know who the chronicler was, or whether he posted his entries daily or at less frequent intervals. Apparently he was not a churchman. Also, this was unique among Spanish expeditions in not including missionaries.

Whoever the writer was, he was a quick, keen observor of the sights of the new country. Thanks to him, we have a description of an Apache, dog travois of pre-horse times: The support poles were attached to a breast strap like that of an Eskimo dog harness, not to a cinch, like the side drags of the Plains Indians. One more proof, if it were needed, is of the northern origin of the Dene. (Navaho).

The words of the *Journal* bring back vividly the heat and the curious baked light of the lower Rio Grande and the Rio Pecos; the blank roughness of the Texas extension of the Sonoran Desert, and the grateful green of the Edwards Plateau. Above all, the writer lets us see Pecos Pueblo, (abandoned in 1838), when it was in its glorious days as a bulwark against the tribes of the Plains: A teeming, thriving city, inhabited by industrious men and women and their wide-eyed children, who stared as curiously at the Spaniards as the Spaniards did at them.

It is the blending of geography, history and archaeology into a rich ethnographic whole that is the delight of this book. There is something here for every reader with an interest in the Southwest.

The School of American Research has long been, and continues to be, a world to itself in the field of scholarly publishing. It has

brought out a succession of rare manuscripts, ably translated and annotated, frequently well-illustrated and usually with excellent maps, to increase our knowledge of Southwestern history.

But the School does things its own way, and this volume is no exception to this rule. Not only are we not told when, where, how, by whom, or under what circumstances the manuscript in question happened to be preserved; we are not told the price of the book in case we want to purchase a gift copy. This last seems to be carrying scholarly unworldliness to an unnecessarily fine point.

Albert H. Schroeder, and Clyde Arquero of Cochiti Pueblo, have produced a series of accurate and authoritative maps. Joyce J. Fox's chapter drawings are attractive, as is the jacket drawing by Phyllis Hoyt. Above all, there is a series of photographs, many of them taken by Dr. Schroeder, which give within the limits of pages the sweep of illimitable country.

—Alice Marriott

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Glory Years. By Richard F. Pourade. Commissioned by James S. Copley. (The Union-Tribune Publishing Co., San Diego, California, 1964. p. 252. Illus. Maps. $9.50.)

This book, *The Glory Years*, covers the history of San Diego, 1869-1900: The time of booms and busts, the days when men of courage and men of dreams were united by their struggle to obtain the richness of the "Land of the Sundown Sea."

This is more than an ordinary history of a particular city. The book points up the history of America, and tells the story of some of the leading men who built this great nation, thus making a real contribution to the understanding of the dynamic processes of human life. It will not only be enjoyed by readers of history but also by those who enjoy the intrigues of finance, the schemes of men and the interaction of peoples.

Richard F. Pourade, Editor Emeritus of the *San Diego Union*, has combined the discipline of the researcher and the historian with the communication skills of the newspaper man to produce a most readable, informative and interesting volume. Mr. Pourade has superbly produced a well-documented account without one footnote. He has used great skill in combining primary and secondary sources. His straightforward writing should serve as an example of historic literary technique to many scholars.

Mr. Pourade has arranged his data chronologically, starting at the close of the Civil War and progressing to 1900. The men and women who made *The Glory Years* walk through the pages of

this book: Alonzo Horton, the man who at the age of fifty-five years envisioned and built a great city; Wyatt Earp who escaped trial in Arizona to operate three gambling halls in San Diego; Rose Hartwick Thorpe, the author of the poem "Curfew Shall Not Ring Tonight," who added culture to the growing community. These and many more are the people who made San Diego's "Glory Years."

The volume is the fourth in a series on the "Historic Birthplace of California," commissioned by James S. Copley, chairman of the corporation publishing the Copley newspapers. Mr. Copley's interest has allowed the author to illustrate the 251 pages of text with 114 photographs, drawings, maps and facsimiles of newspapers and folders. There is a chronology of historic events; a list of mayors of San Diego; a list of governors of California; a list of county towns in 1888; a list of post offices; a 6-page bibliography; and a 10-page index. The physical make-up of the volume is beautiful, making its price of $9.50 no more than a token. The book is a treasure for the lover of beautiful books, as well as for the collector of history and for the researcher.

—Carol K. Rachlin

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Indians of the Woodlands. From Prehistoric Times to 1725. By George E. Hyde. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. p. 279. Maps. Illus. Bibliog. Index. $5.00.)

Like many scholars before this, I have agreed to review *Indians of the Woodlands* written by the "grand old man of Indian lore," George E. Hyde. This book has received so many unfavorable reviews that it seems pointless to write another. However, in the interest of the reader, this reviewer would like to make a few points.

Archaeological, historical and anthropological sources are combined to interpret the life of the Woodlands Indians living between the Hudson and the Mississippi rivers. The most satisfactory part of the book appears to be the formal history. The author's use of the archaeological and much of the anthropological literature has lost limitations and controls which the discipline of science imposes upon its data.

This is the Volume 64 in the "Civilization of the American Indian Series." Its content and book making represents a low for a series that has contributed many good books to the researcher and student as well as the lover of history of the West.

Indians of the Woodlands still is a book that needs to be written.

—Carol K. Rachlin

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The American Heritage History of the Great West. By David Lavender. (American Heritage Publishing Company, New York, 1965. p. 416. Illustrations, index. $16.50.)

In his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) the French agriculturist, St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, posed two rhetorical questions concerning the future of the American West: "Who can tell how far it extends? Who can tell the millions of men whom it will feed and contain?" In these letters, addressed to an imaginary correspondent in England, Crèvecoeur also foresaw the emergence of a new national type, the American. Doubtless, if some time-machine could bring him to the United States of 1966, he would be intensely interested in perusing *The American Heritage History of the Great West,* since this one volume could furnish excellent answers for his questions of 1782, including hints as to the dominant characteristics of the typical present-day American and the role played by the Great West in their development.

When Crévecoeur spoke of the American West, he referred to the land west of the crest of the Appalachians, set as the western boundary of the original English colonies by the Proclamation Line of 1763. This is also the starting point for the editors and writers of the *American Heritage History.* The first of fourteen chapters is headed "Beyond the First Mountains 1763-1779" and the last chapter is "New Values 1890-1914." We feel certain the editors and writers will agree that the history of the American West and its impact on American and world society and culture did not end in 1914. Any history of modern times is obsolescent by the time it reaches print and the author has to stop somewhere. Crèvecoeur, however, would be also interested in speculating about inferences to be drawn from such facts as statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and the population growth on the west coast, especially in California, now boasting the largest population among the fifty states.

This volume is well written and beautifully embellished, in the *American Heritage* style, by 424 illustrations of which 116 are in color. An excellent attempt at synthesis, it tells the story of the growth of the United States from the perspective of the frontier and fits the development of the West into the whole history of our country. As in any synthesis, depth has been sacrificed for breadth of treatment. Certain developments are left dangling without conclusion and certain inaccuracies have crept into the narrative. For example, in mention of the Leavenworth Expedition of 1834, Oklahomans who know their history will be surprised to learn that after the death of General Leavenworth (p. 156), "General Henry Dodge marched doggedly on almost to New Mexico and extracted a promise of good behavior from Wichitas, Kiowas, and Comanches." Or (p. 174), "Crossing Red River

into Mexican Texas, the Dragoons found the Comanches hospitable." No reference is made to the work of the Stokes Commission or the conference at Camp Holmes in 1835.

A fairly adequate account of the Five Civilized Tribes is given, including their removal experiences, but the ordeal just preceding Oklahoma statehood is omitted. The tremendous work of the Dawes Commission receives no notice. Such a statement as this one (p. 358) is not sufficient for all the country, east and west in Oklahoma: "After division of the reservation, quantities of land were left over. Absurd to suppose the Indians received it. Rather, the Government paid each tribe a pittance for its rights and tossed the chunks of acquired property . . . to white boomers." Some compensation for this lack of precise information as to the disposition of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes in Eastern Oklahoma may be found in illustrations such as the full-page reproduction in color (p. 171) of the patent signed by John Tyler and Daniel Webster, granted in 1842 to the Choctaw Nation as basic title to its land in Oklahoma.

In spite of the inevitable inaccuracies in a work of this scope, the total effect is excellent. From the adventures of Daniel Boone in Kentucky, through the Mississippi Valley to the Rockies and the exploits of the mountain men—"first of the Far West's many waves of mindless exploiters"—, across the Great Basin to California and Oregon, the moving frontier which bulldozed Indians, trees, mountains, and other barriers aside, is excellently portrayed. The romance and glitter, the blood, sweat, tears, and death, the scoundrels, heroes, empire-builders, and cowards are all represented here by word and picture. Don't miss it. And if you like to go first class, a deluxe edition can be had for $19.00.

—James D. Morrison
Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 28, 1965

Members of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met for their quarterly meeting in the Board of Directors Room at 10:00 a.m. on October 28, 1965, with President George H. Shirk, presiding.

Roll call was answered by: Mr. Lou Allard, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Morton R. Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James Morrison, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

It was moved by Miss Seger that Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge J. G. Clift, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Bob Foresman, and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle be excused. The motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips, and adopted by the Board.

Mr. Muldrow moved that letters be sent to Dr. E. E. Dale and Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, members of the Board now confined in hospitals. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger and was unanimously approved.

In making his report, Administrative Secretary Elmer Fraker stated there were forty-two new Annual Members to be elected, and numerous gifts and donations to be accepted. Judge Hefner made a motion, seconded by Mrs. Bowman, that the gifts be accepted and the memberships approved. This motion was adopted.

Mr. Fraker further reported that an experiment of solicitation of members from a list of selected names by mail had proved successful with a total of 7% return. He stated that since the experiment had proved as successful as it did, further projects of this nature were planned.

After the Board of Directors had approved the application made to the Kerr Foundation, by the officials of the Society, it was announced that Mr. Elbert L. Costner had already begun his work under the Kerr Foundation grant.

Continuing his remarks, the Administrative Secretary reported he had been accompanied by Historic Sites Chairman McIntosh and Mr. Costner to the offices of the U. S. Corps of Engineers in Tulsa, to discuss the possible development of historic sites in Oklahoma. It was also pointed out that Mr. Costner was now a member of the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The title of Mr. Costner's position is that of Field Deputy.

Mr. Fraker announced to the Board that President George H. Shirk had been given an Award of Merit at the Annual Convention of the American Association For State And Local History held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Mr. Shirk was the only person in the southwestern region of the United States to receive this award, which was made to him for "outstanding contributions to the promotion of historical study in Oklahoma."

In concluding his report, the Administrative Secretary commented that he had received two letters from Governor Henry Bellmon recently commending the staff of the Society for the work it is doing.

Mr. Lou Allard made a motion that the part of the Administrative Secretary's report regarding the award to President Shirk be placed in the official minutes of the Board meeting. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger. President Shirk vacated the chair, and with Mr. Phillips presiding, the motion was unanimously adopted.

A few moments were spent in silence as a tribute to the passing of Mrs. Anna B. Korn, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for some 40 years. President Shirk said of Mrs. Korn, "Her guidance, inspiration, and gentle urging for so many years had helped make this a great Society." The President also suggested that the Board pause in the memory of Mrs. Edith Mitchell, a former assistant librarian of the Society, who passed away on August 27, 1965.

The Treasurer, Mrs. Edna Bowman, gave the report for the first quarter of the fiscal year 1965-66. This report reflected all accounts of the Oklahoma Historical Society in good condition.

Dr. Morrison stated for the Fort Washita Commission that Mr. Ward Merrick is still contributing to this worthwhile project. A certificate had been received on June 22nd of this year designating Fort Washita as a National Historical Landmark. A letter was read from Mr. Merrick relative to making a portion of Fort Washita excess land into a boy scout campsite. Mr. Muldrow made a motion that Mr. Overton James, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, be invited, as a courtesy, to work with Dr. Morrison and the Fort Washita Commission regarding the proposal to use a part of Fort Washita as a boy scout campsite. Dr. Harbour seconded this motion, and when put the motion was carried unanimously.

A report on the historic sites proposals in Wagoner County was given by Mr. McIntosh. He said several trips had been made regarding the feasibility of the Historical Society's acquiring some acreage 40 miles southeast of Tulsa on State Highway #51, around the Tullahassee Mission site. The possibility of acquiring this land was discussed with the man who owns the property. The land is being leased to the Methodist Memorial Association. It was definitely stated by the owner that if he were to sell this land, the Oklahoma Historical Society would be the first to know and to have the first rights to purchase, but that at present the land was not for sale. Mr. McIntosh reported that the Wagoner County Historical Society had held a meeting and that he was invited to attend. He said as soon as further developments on the matter were made, he would report on them.

Mr. McIntosh also reported for the Historic Sites Committee, saying that he, along with Mr. Costner and Mr. Fraker, had visited the U. S. Corps of Engineers in Tulsa. They were readily welcomed there, and the Engineers agreed to help out in every way they possibly can to develop the historic sites of eastern Oklahoma. Mr. McIntosh suggested that, inasmuch as Mr. Fraker, representing the Oklahoma Historical Society; Mr. Costner the Kerr Foundation; and himself the Historic Sites Committee, the three be designated to work with the Engineers as may be deemed necessary in order to activate the program. Dr. Harbour moved that President Shirk appoint the men suggested on a committee to carry on the Kerr Foundation work. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion. The motion was adopted, and President Shirk made the appointments.

In concluding his report, the Historic Sites Committee Chairman said the deed was being prepared for the Cabin Creek Site, and as soon as it was signed and recorded in Mayes County this site becomes the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

In the absence of Mr. Foresman, Chairman of the special committee appointed by Mr. Shirk to study the proposed sale of land around

Sequoyah's home, Mr. McIntosh recommended that no action be taken at the present time. He said that if and when it is decided the land will be sold, the mineral rights should be reserved for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Phillips made a motion that the report of the special committee be received and approved, with a second from Mr. Miller. The motion was adopted. The report is part of these minutes. Upon the passing of this motion, President Shirk discharged the special committee.

Mr. Phillips moved that a special committee be appointed to work with the Association of General Contractors who desire to construct a museum on the historical society grounds. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was carried. A committee was then appointed by the President, including Mr. Bass, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Fraker.

Two vacancies on the Board of Directors were filled when Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce, of Muskogee, and Mr. John E. Kirkpatrick, of Oklahoma City, were elected unanimously to fill the unexpired terms available. It was determined that Mr. Pierce will serve until January, 1967, and Mr. Kirkpatrick's term will expire January, 1968.

Mr. McIntosh moved that President Shirk's new book, "Oklahoma Place Names", be sold at the Society's reception desk. Upon the second of Mr. Harrison, and with Mr. Phillips presiding, the motion was adopted.

Dr. Chapman said that on April 17th the Payne County Historical Society and affiliated organizations will conduct a program of statewide importance, when a large sign will be set up where the Indian Meridian crosses State Highway #51. This is ten miles west of Stillwater. It was decided the Oklahoma Historical Society should also join in support of this worthwhile program.

There being no further business to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned at 11:50 a.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN THIRD QUARTER, 1965

LIBRARY:

"Armageddon at Shiloh" by Jordan B. Reaves, Oklahoma Democratic Jefferson-Jackson Dinner Program 1965, Oklahoma City, July 13, 1965.

John Bell Hood's Tennessee Campaign, by Elbert L. Watson, Senior Archivist, Tennessee State Library and Archives — Presented to the Oklahoma Civil War Roundtable, May 27, 1965.

National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center Inaugural Exhibition Pamphlet and Dedication Ceremonies Souvenir Program, 1965.

Military Collector and Historian Vol. XV, No. 4, Winter 1963.

The Great Battles of the Civil War — Life Magazine Publication.

Civil War Times Illustrated, 12 issues.

Discover the New Pennsylvania.

"State of the Union Message by the President to a Joint Session of the Congress" — The White House — January 4, 1965.

"The American Promise" — Remarks of the President to a Joint Session of the Congress, March 15, 1965.

The Rockefeller Foundation, 1964.

Independence Day Ceremonies Program, Oklahoma City, July 3, 1965.

The Capitol City Area Salutes Tinker Air Force Base, 1965.

Brochure "North American Air Defense Command" NORAD, September 9-10, 1965.

Keshena, Vol. 54, 1960 Year Book of Oklahoma City University.

"The United States Air Force Academy" — Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1965.

Military Collector and Historian Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Spring 1965.

Lincoln Herald, Winter 1964.

"World Law Day" September 13, 1965.

My Story by Oral Roberts, 1961.

Plan Monumental de la ville de Luxembourg.

Pianta Di Roma.

Map of Rome, American Red Cross Complimentary Edition.

Conflagrations in America Since 1900.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk.

"Fort Washita Dedication Day, June 22, 1965."

Donor: Mrs. John Allen Phillips, II, Box 668, Durant, Oklahoma Through Mayor George Shirk.

Special Supplement of *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* September 15, 1962.

Donor: H. Milt Phillips.

Heuston Collection of Chickasaw Festival, Tishomingo, Oklahoma, July 3, 1965.

Donor: J. E. Heuston, 405 S. Byrd, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Early Indian Territory Letters and Postmarks.

Donor: John Park Cravens, 418 E. "L" St., Russellville, Arkansas.

Map and Uniform Insignia of the late Robert Blackwell Finnell of Muskogee, Okla.

"River, Road and Rail" — William Richardson's Journey from Louisville to New York in 1844, by William Bell Wait.

Donor: Mrs. John D. Morin, Georgetown, Kentucky.

Indian Record, November, 1886, Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Indian Record, August, 1886, Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Indian Record, February, 1887, Muskogee, Indian Territory.

Donor: Mrs. O. R. Hisel, 408 S. 15th St., Muskogee.

Georgia Pioneers, Genealogical Magazine, August 1965, Vol. II, No. 3.

Donor: *Georgia Pioneers,* Editor M. Carter, P.O. Box 1028, Albany, Georgia.

"History of Oklahoma Telephone Pioneers" compiled by Harry H. Wortman.

Wiring A Continent — The History of the Telegraph Industry in the United States 1832-1866 by Robert Luther Thompson.

Y-Bridge City — The Story of Zanesville and Muskingum County, Ohio by Norris F. Schneider.

Donor: Harry H. Wortman, 820 N.E. 50th, Oklahoma City.

Adriel Warren of Berwick, Maine — His Forebears and Descendants by Vanetta Hosford Warren.

Presented in Memory of Pacific Warren Elliott by her Great-Grand-daughters: Janice Sue and Jessica Elliott, 1928 South Dewey, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

History of the Woman's Relief Corps, Department of Oklahoma by Mrs. Ethel E. Coppadge, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Journal of Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of Department of Oklahoma Woman's Relief Corps, Ponca City, May 1919.

Journal of Thirty-Second Annual Convention of Department of Oklahoma Woman's Relief Corps, Blackwell, Oklahoma, May 1924.

Donor: Mrs. Ethel E. Coppadge, 214 W. 11th St., Stillwater By Dr. B. B. Chapman and the Library of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

"Trip to Oklahoma" — Original diary of Edward W. Osburn, brother of W. H. Osburn.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma — Containing W. H. Osburn article "Tribute to Captain D. L. Payne."

Donor: E. F. Osburn (son of Edward W. and nephew of W. H. Osburn), 3828 Cottage Grove Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa.

Tomorrow Belongs To Oklahoma! by Ray Ackerman.

Donor: Ray Ackerman, Oklahoma City.

The Genealogical Helper—Back Issues to Complete Library Series.

Donor: Mrs. Alene Simpson, Edmond.

Pamphlet: "Lord Kitchener And The Viceroyalty of India, 1910" by Joseph O. Baylen, Professor of History, University of Mississippi.

Donor: Oklahoma State University Library, Reference Dept., Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Abraham Lincoln Gettysburg Address Commemorative Centennial Folder.

Funeral Address Delivered at the Burial of President Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, May 4, 1865 by Rev. Matthew Simpson, D.D.

"Four Days in May"—Lincoln Returns to Springfield, compiled and edited by Caroline R. Heath, Springfield, Illinois 1965.

Donor: Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.

The Lost Towns and Roads of America by J. R. Humphreys.

Donor: Mrs. Alene Simpson, Edmond.

The Hubert E. Collins Collection

Sketch of Red Fork Ranch, Indian Territory 1881-1888 on the site of Dover, Oklahoma, drawn from instructions of Hubert E. Collins of Utica, N. Y., May 16, 1922.

Sketch of Location Site of Red Fork Ranch, Indian Territory; drawn from instructions of Hubert E. Collins, May 25, 1922.

Manuscript: *Red Fork Ranch* by Ralph P. Collins and Hubert E. Collins.

"One of the Last American Frontiers: Red Fork Ranch, Indian Territory, 1878-1888" by Hubert E. Collins and Ralph P. Collins. Series in the *Utica* (N.Y.) *Observer-Dispatch*, February 8-April 15, 1923.

"Benjamin Williams" by Mahlon J. Williams.

"Benjamin F. Williams" by Hubert E. Collins.

Folder of Notes and Data of Hubert E. Collins.

Folder of Personal Correspondence of Hubert E. Collins.

"A Trip to the Top of the East Spanish Peak" by Hubert E. Collins. Two notebooks containing original tales by Hubert E. Collins and Ralph P. Collins.

Notebook containing "Collins Genealogy," "A Pioneer Girl, Wife and Mother" and "Pioneer Women" by Hubert E. Collins and Ralph P. Collins.

Manuscript: *Haphazard*—Life's Elan by Hubert E. Collins.

"Indians: Old Timers and Nineteen-Thirty-Ones" by Hubert E. Collins.

"The Dog Soldiers" by Ralph P. Collins.

"Billie Cut-Nose, Aged Five, Enters College" by Ralph P. Collins and Hubert E. Collins.

"Present and Future Power Equipment" by Hubert E. Collins, Mechanical Engineer from *Management and Administration,* Vol. 8, No. 6, December 1924.

Folder of Clippings.

"Life of Hubert E. Collins" by Hubert E. Collins.

Handwritten short story: "Abbie, the Iowa Captive" by Oella S. Hewitt. Poem dated February 25, 1890.

"Powderface's First Scout" by Ralph P. Collins and Hubert E. Collins. "The Indian Pony" by Hubert E. Collins.

Handwritten short story: "How Ruby Played."

"The Rabbit Hunt" from *Keevah-Hahnah Tales* by Ralph P. Collins and Hubert E. Collins.

"Biographical Sketch by Powder Face," Delivered at Darlington, Dec. 24, 1880.

"Little Robe's Son—A Chip From the Old Block" by Hubert E. and Ralph P. Collins.

"Single Foot" by Hubert E. Collins.

"Thunder Magic" by Hubert E. Collins.

"Lost?" by Hubert E. Collins.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Vol. X, No. 3, September 1932 containing: "Edwin Williams, Engineer" by Hubert C. Collins. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. 4, December 1932 containing: "Ben Williams, Frontier Peace Officer" by Hubert E. Collins.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. 28 No. 1, Jan. 1930 containing: "The Story of Mahlon Day Collins" by Hubert E. Collins.

Donor: Paul DuBois, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York.

Master Thesis: *Federal Ascendancy in Indian Territory, 1862-1863.* by Barney King Neal, Jr., May 1965, Oklahoma State University.

Donor: Barney King Neal, Jr., Stillwater, Oklahoma.

A History of Cowboy Flat—Campbell-Pleasant Valley 1868-1960 by M. C. Rouse, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater for M. C. Rouse of Coyle.

A Genealogy of James Bullock and Mary Hill, Latter Day Saints Pioneers by Kenneth C. Bullock.

Donor: Kenneth C. Bullock.

Skylight and Roof Tables, 1903.

Donor: Tom Adams, Shawnee.

Layne-Lain-Lane Genealogy Compiled and Published by Floyd Benjamin Lane.

Donor: Floyd Benjamin Lane, Los Angeles, California.

Spillman Papers Compiled by Malcolm L. Melville, May 1965.

One Man's Family—A History and Genealogy of the Fetzer Family by John Earl Fetzer.

Lectures—Presented by Dr. Conrad Swan, Esq., Ph.D., M. A., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, The College of Arms, London, England.

Published by Texas Division of National Society Magna Charta Dames.

The Descendants of John Scott From 1777 Compiled by Col. Walter T. Scott, Warner Robins, Georgia.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

The Adelia Clifton Collection.

Donor: Mrs. Maude Adelia Gill Roberson, 1317 Eastmoreland, Apartment 10, Memphis, Tennessee.
Mrs. John Wilson Cory, 421 N. W. 21st, Oklahoma City.

Delaware—A Student's Guide to Localized History by John A. Munroe.

Kentucky—A Student's Guide to Localized History by Thomas D. Clark.

Donor: Dr. Clifford L. Lord, Editor.

Index to Genealogical Periodicals, Vols. I, II, and III. Compiled by Donald Lines Jacobus, M.A.

Donor: Mrs. John Newton Booth, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Texas Libraries, Statistical Directory 1965

Texas Libraries, Special Libraries Directory Summer 1965

Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Texas

"Clio's Midwife: Collecting Manuscripts at a State Historical Library," by Robert L. Brubaker.

Donor: Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Ill.

Original Broadside entitled "To the Voters of the Osage Nation", undated, but thought to be about 1900.

Donor: John S. Mayfield, Curator, Manuscripts and Rare Books, Syracuse University Library
Syracuse, New York

Carbon copy "Voucher for Annuities and Per Capita Payments to Indians," listing 1898 Pawnee Indians participating in per capita share of $3530.48 each, paid October 21, 1964.

Carbon copy "Voucher for annuities and Per Capita Payments to Indians" listing 1421 Absentee Shawnee Indians participating in per capita share of $261.08 each, paid August 6, 1965.

Donor: Anadarko Area Office
Anadarko, Okla.

Photostat copy of letter of Oct. 22, 1894 from Leo Vincent, Chairman, Peoples Central Committee of Oklahoma Territory, Guthrie, O. T., re Prof. C. Vincent holding meetings with Republicans and Democrats.

Donor: Douglas Norris, Box 253, Cyril, Okla.

RECORDS: U. S. INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION:
Lipan Apache Tribe, Mescalero Apache Tribe vs. U. S., Docket 22C
Order Granting Motion to Dismiss
Opinion of the Commission

Blackfeet & Gros Ventre Tribes vs. U. S., Docket 279B
Preliminary Statement
Order Dismissing Petition

Chemehuevi Tribe vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 351 and 351A
Findings of Fact re allowance attorney fees and expenses
Order allowing attorney fees and expenses

Minnesota Chippewa, et al, vs. U. S., Docket No. 18B
Final Judgment

Minnesota Chippewa, et al., vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 18B and 18N
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Creek Nation of Okla., and of East of Mississippi vs. U. S., Docket #21
Order Allowing Attorneys' fee

Peoria Tribe, et al, vs. U. S., Docket No. 65
Final Award

Peoria Tribe of Okla., et al, vs. U. S. Docket No. 314 Amended
Order Allowing Attorneys' Fees

Quechan Tribe of Fort Yuma Reservation, Calif., vs. U. S., Docket No. 319
Additional Finding of Fact
Final Judgment
Opinion of the Commission

Sac & Fox Tribe of Mo., vs. U. S., Docket 195
Order Allowing Attorneys' Fees

Sioux Tribe, et al, Docket No. 74

3 Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold Reservation, Docket 350B & 350C

Yankton Sioux, Docket 332 A

Chippewa Creek Tribe, Docket 221A
vs. U. S.
Order Defining Boundary & Determining Recognition
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Confederated Bands of Ute Indians vs. U. S., Docket 327
Findings of Fact on Award of Attorney Fee
Order Allowing Attorney Fees
Opinion on Attorney Fee

Yakima Tribe, Conf. Tribes of Colville Res., Intervenor, Docket 161

Conf. Tribes of Colville Res., et al., Dockets 222 & 224 vs. U. S.
Order Allowing Attorneys' Fee

Yakima Tribe on behalf of Wishram Band vs. U. S. Docket 165
Order Dismissing Petition

Yakima Tribe vs. U. S., Docket No. 162
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Final Award

Donor: U. S. Indian Claims Commission
Washington, D. C.

Indian Voices, July 1965

Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor

35 pages Zerox copies of the Rev. Joseph Smedley papers

Donor: Ellis L. Costner

MUSEUM

PICTURES:

Oklahoma State Capitol

Donor: Alfred Mongin, Brooklyn, New York

Ohoyahoma Club, large framed picture

Donor: Mrs. Rex Pruitt, Maramec, Oklahoma

Group, George Shirk, W. E. McIntosh, Wm. Martin, Jesse Epple
Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City

Governor Henry S. Johnston
Donor: Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce

Panorama, Oklahoma City Oil Field
Donor: Mrs. Marie Etheridge, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Home of D. L. Aiken
Donor: Mrs. A. Frank Martin, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Portrait of Lee Harkins by Echohawk
Donor: Harkins Collection

37 photographs showing the effects of soil erosion and scenes of the Dust Bowl.
Donor: C. A. Tidwell, State Conservation Officer, Stillwater

Judge Orel Busby
Donor: Glossy print copy—Historical Society

Ada High School Band 1929-30
Dr. Wilson H. Lane and Family
LaJeanne French McIntyre
Mrs. Viola Lane French
Mrs. Dora Lane Knox
Charles and Susue French
W. H. Morrison and family
Mr. and Mrs. P. A. French
Belle and Mattie Lane
Ethel and Essie June French
Frisco Locomotive
Racing Car #72-801-1923 Oklahoma
Rural Mail Hack
John E. French
Vera Lane
Viola French
Mrs. John E. French
Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Lane
Robert and Cora Lane
Perley A. French in buggy
William Morrison Family
John E. French
Donor: Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, Oklahoma City

Tom Ferguson, color photograph, framed
Donor: Benton Ferguson, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Cimarron River from Railroad bridge

Railroad Station at Dover, Oklahoma

Street scene, Dover, Oklahoma

Present railroad bridge over Cimarron River at Reno Trail Ford

Josani, Comanche Chief

Home of John F. Williams, Darlington Agency

Red Fork Ranch Oklahoma Territory, 1881-1888

John D. Miles and group

Delegation of Cheyenne and Arapaho to Washington

George Bent Jr.

Group of Cheyenne who accompanied the First Cheyenne boys to Carlisle

Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce
Ralph Collins, ranchman
Fred Williams, ranchman
Ben Williams, Deputy U. S. Marshal
Group of Cheyenne
Three Cheyenne boys who attended Carlisle
Delegates to Washington including, Whirlwind and Little Big Jake.
Powder Face and wife
Anna Darlington Hoag
Wolf Robe, color photograph
Cheyenne Tepee
Kiowa boy 1880
Cheyenne Camp 1880
Esa Habby's daughters—Cheyenne
Kit Carson's Home in Taos, New Mexico
Mary Bent
Sam Hood and Family
Sam Hood and group at his store—1898
Wilders Saw Mill on the Move
Cloudland Ranch, home of Ralph P. Collins
Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Wilder 1888
Delegation of Arapaho includes Powder Face and Ralph Collins.
Donor: Paul DuBois, New York State Historical Society Cooperstown, New York

Brochure, pictures of early Oklahoma City
Donor: Edwin Presley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

EXHIBITS:

Claim Flag, used during the Run of 1893
Donor: Mrs. A. Frank Martin, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Gavel (very large) used at the United Nations Conference
Donor: George Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Chair, hickory split used in Virginia during the Revolutionary War, brought to Oklahoma in the Run of 1889.
Donor: Joseph H. Benton, Norman, Oklahoma

Set of old crochet hooks
Donor: Mrs. W. T. Murray, Muskogee, Oklahoma

Jug, pottery, found in Indian Burial Mound
Donor: Mrs. Wiliam C. Harness, Folsom, California

Plates (2) Dresden China with picture of the M. E. Church South Durant, Indian Territory.
Plate, Dresden China with picture of old Fort Washita
Mug, Dresden China, picture of Dixon Durant, Founder of Durant on the side
Knife Sheath, beaded
Donor: W. T. Purdum, Washington, D. C.

Churn, small crockery
Donor: Mrs. George Warren, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Lock and Key from very old ward-robe
Donor: Mrs. Agnes Caldwell, Choctaw, Oklahoma

Shoes, one pair, Infants size 3
Cap, brown beaver fur
Cape, ladies black silk plush, braided and beaded
Donor: Mrs. Thomas A. Roper, Aransas Pass, Texas

Hammer, used as a gavel in the First Territorial Legislature
Watch, large silver, used by Coon Floyd, a Trail Driver
Paper Weight, used by Sam Hayes during the Constitutional Convention
Metal Tag, engraved "University of Oklahoma 1908"
Donor: Benton Ferguson, Tulsa, Oklahoma

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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1907

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